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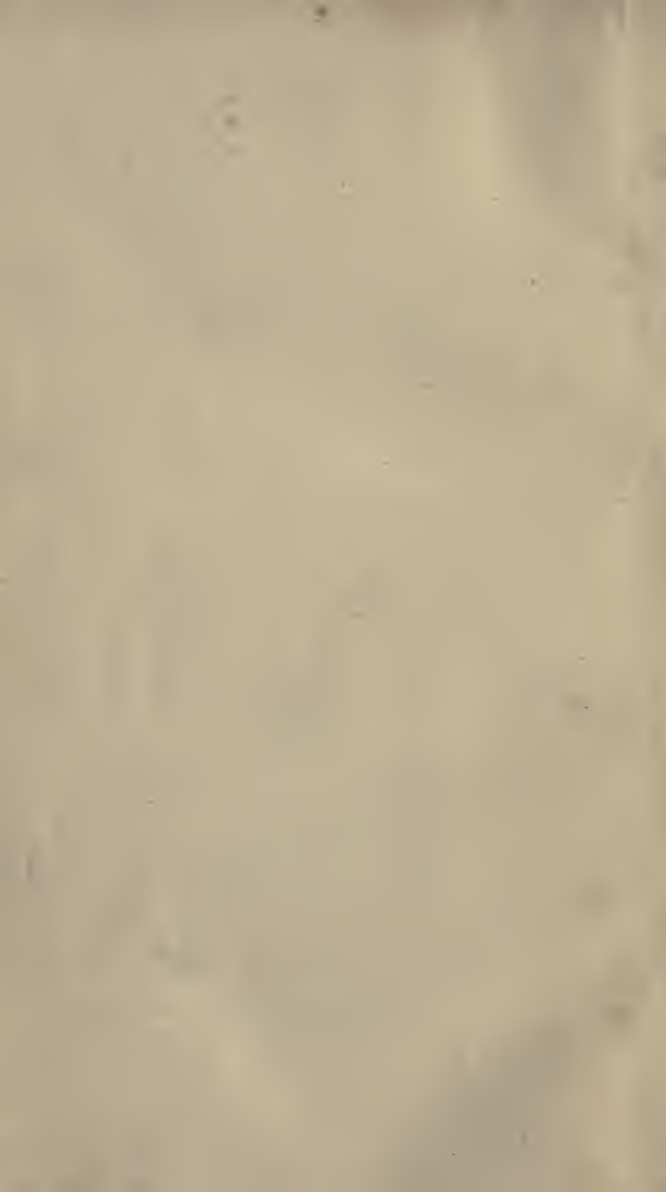
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English Reprints.

JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND, I OF ENGLAND.

The Essayes of a Prentise, in
the Divine Art of Poesie.

Edinburgh. 1585.

A Counterblaste to Tobacco.

London. 1604.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY
EDWARD ARBER.

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.



LONDON:
5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY,

Ent. Stat. Hall.]

10 December, 1869.

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INTRODUCTION.



Literature is a Republic that admits of no authority but that of Learning, Genius, and Persuasion. The Writer—whether King, Peer, or Commoner—is judged with one judgment. Curiosity, Reverence, or Loyalty may procure for a Work an attentive reception and some present applause: but its perpetuation, its place in the Literature of the country, will depend upon either its intrinsic merits, or on its illustrative power in respect to the age in which it was written.

On these latter grounds, the Royal productions here reprinted have been admitted into the Series.

The Reulis and Cautelis in Scottis Poesie bring James VI. within the succession of our early Poetical Critics; whose writings—not very numerous, but now excessively scarce—are of great value in the study of English Poetry. For—not to speak of their often preserving snatches of poems now utterly lost—they show us the theories of versification, the canons of Poetic taste and style, prevailing in our country, immediately before the advent of Spenser, Shakespeare, and their fertile contemporaries. These writings were reprinted by Mr. Haslewood in his *Ancient Critical Essays*, 2 vols. 4to., 1811-16: a Reprint, of which only 300 copies were printed, (and a portion of that number destroyed by fire), which is now scarce; and which, when met with, usually costs two or three pounds. The original texts being so rare; Mr. Haslewood's Reprint was, until lately, the only means whereby most of us could obtain a knowledge of this important department of our National literature.

In pursuance, therefore, of what seemed an imperative duty: these Criticisms in Poesy are being gradually reproduced in this Series. To the four now published—GASCOIGNE, SIDNEY, JAMES VI., and PUTTENHAM: we purpose adding in 1870, W. WEBBE'S *Discourse* (of which only two copies remain): and the five productions, forming two-thirds of Mr. Haslewood's Reprint—including also with them four others of

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a differing character—will be obtainable for 5s. 6d., and be on *unlimited* sale. It is to be hoped that this advantageous facility of knowledge, may allure many to a more thorough delight in Elizabethan poetry: and that by a combined study of these Principles of Poesy with the Poems themselves, many may attain to a more subtle appreciation, a more sensitive feeling of that Song—which, in its aggregate and bulk, is the sweetest and most enchanting in our History.

How much the *Counterblaste* represents another class of our Literature, and a good deal of our former manners: the notices given of the Tobacco controversy will show. Thus both works stand on their own merits; their own reputation and that of their Royal Author but predisposing them to a courteous reception.

What he says in the Preface to his other poetical work, *Exercises at vacant heures*, must not be forgotten in considering the *Essayes*, or Attempts of an Apprentice:

And in case thou finde aswel in this work, as in my LEPANTO following, many incorrect errors, both in the dyttement and orthography, I must pray thee to accept this my reasonable excuse, which is this. Thou considers, I doubt not, that vpon the one part, I composed these things in my verie young and tender yeares: wherein nature, except shee were a monster can admit of no perfection. And nowe on the other parte, being of riper yeares, my burden is so great and continuall, without anie intermission, that when my ingyne and age could, my affaires and fasherie would not permit mee, to remark the wrong orthography committed by the copiers of my vnlegible and ragged hand, far les to amend my proper errors: Yea scarslie but at stollen moments, haue I the leasure to blenk vpon any paper, and yet not that, with free and vnexed spirit. Alwaies, rough and vnpolished as they are, I offer them vnto thee.

Nothing need here be said of the king's Sonnets and Poems: they appraise themselves. Of the rest, the following may be noted:—

1. MR. GILLIES, writing, in 1812, his *Pref. Mem.*, see No. 2 on p. 6, states—"Of the recomendatory versifiers T[homas H]udson was the author of a translation of Du Bartas's *History of Judith*, printed at Edinburgh by Thomas Vautroller, and republished in the works of Du Bartas by Joshua Sylvester." R. Hudson, probably a brother of the preceding, was also a writer of verses. See an address to him, by Montgomery, in the second volume of Sibbald's *Chronicle*. M. W. F. is obviously Master William Fowler, author of *The Triumphs of Petrarche* and *The Tarantula of Love*, extant in M.S. in the College Library of Edinburgh, of which specimens have been published by Dr. Leyden.

2. GILLAUME DE SALLUSTE, Seigneur DU BARTAS (b. 1544—d. 1590) exercised a considerable influence over some of the minor English poets of his time. Something like mutual laudation passed between the young Scotch king and the French poet. What James says of Du Bartas may be seen at pp. 20-21. Not long after these *Essayes*, the king wrote a poem on the battle of Lepanto: in a French translation of which, by Du Bartas, *La Lépantique*, is the following *Preface from the Translator to the Author*, in which the Frenchman repays the Scot in full:—

IAQUES, si tu marchois d'un pied morteé ça bas,
 Hardy t'entreprendroy de l'alloner ses pas :
 Pestendroy tous mes nerfs, et ma course sacrée
 Loing, loing lairroit à dos les aigles de Borée.
 Mais puis qu'aigle nouveau tu te guindes és cieux,
 Collé bas, ie te suy seulement de mes yeux :
 Mais plustost du desir : ou, si ie me remuë
 Ombre ie vole eu terre, et toy dedans la nuë.
He ! fusse ie vrayment, ô Phoenix Escossois,
Ou l'ombre de ton corps, ou l'Echo de ta voix.
Si ie n'auoy l'azur, l'or, et l'argent encore
Dont ton plumage astré brillamment s'honneur,
Au moins t'anrey ta forme : et si mon rude vers
N'exprimoit la douceur de tant d'accords diuers,
Il retiendroyt quelque air de tes voix plus qu'humaines,
Mais, Pies, taisez vous pous ouyr les Camanes.

3. EMANUEL TREMILLIUS, was a Jew, born at Ferrara about 1510. He became first a Catholic, then a Protestant ; was a celebrated Hebrew scholar, and died at Sedan on 9th October 1580. His Latin version of the Scriptures—originally brought out at Frankfort—was first printed in London in 1580, and again in 1581. 'Out of Tremillius' therefore simply means :—translated from out of the Latin version of the Psalms, edited by Tremillius.

In the nineteen years intervening between the publication of the works here presented to the reader, James published many works at Edinburgh. As among others, his *Majestys Poetical Exercises at Vacant houres*, in 1591, consisting of his translation *The Furies* of Du Bartas, of his own *Lepanto*, and of Du Bartas' rendering, *La Lèpanthe*. His *Dæmonologie* in 1599. The anonymous and secret first edition—limited to seven copies—of *Basilikon Doron* in 1599. When he came to the English crown, most of the prose works were reprinted in London.

Almost his first new literary production as King of Great Britain and Ireland was *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*. So far as limited time and space have permitted, we have, further on, surrounded it with somewhat of the antecedent and subsequent literature of the subject. Lovers of the Pipe sometimes endeavour to stultify James' Invective : by sketching, on an enlarged scale, the personal habits, the notions and conceits of the so-called British Solomon. Here again the Invective must stand on its own merits. What it is in itself, we can estimate. The measure of its influence—especially when its Royal authorship became generally known—may not now be attainable. As a matter of history ; it failed in its purpose. Tobacco smoking still reigneth, and will yet reign.

The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie.

(a) Issurs in the Author's lifetime.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1. 1585. Edinburgh. *Editio princeps*: see title on opposite page.
1 vol. 4to.

II. *With other works.*

None.

(b) Issurs since the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*

2. 1814. Edinburgh. *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie*; with a prefatory Memoir by R. P. GILLIES, F.S.A.E.
1 vol. 8vo.

II. *With other works.*

3. 10 Dec. 1869. Lond. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*; see title at p. 1.

A Counterblaste to Tobacco.

(a) Issurs in the Author's lifetime.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1. 1604. London. *Editio princeps*: see title at p. 95. Anonymously published, and now very scarce. The present edition is reprinted from a copy in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.

II. *With other works.*

2. 1616. London. The [Prose] Workes of James I.. Collected and edited by JAMES MONTAGU, Bp. of WINCHESTER. The *Counterblaste* is at pp. 211-212.
3. 1619. London. The same translated into Latin, by the same Bishop. 1 vol. fol. The *Counterblaste* is translated at pp. 189-207. On p. 189, it has the title of *Misocapnus sive De Abusu Tobacci Lusur Regius*: which is thus varied in repetition on p. 200, *Misocapnus, seu lusur Regius de abusu Tobacci*.

(b) Issurs since the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*

None.

II. *With other works.*

4. 1672. London. Two Broad-Sides against Tobacco: The First given by King JAMES of famous memory, His *Counterblaste to Tobacco*. The Second transcribed out of that learned Physician Dr. EVERARD MAYNWARINGE, His *Treatise of the Scurvy*. . . . Concluding with Two Poems against Tobacco [*i.e.* an extract of Sylvester's *Tobacco battered*; see p. 116] and *Coffee*. Collected and published, as very proper for this Age, by J. H. . . . Licensed according to Order. June 6, 1672.

Or with a slightly different title-page, beginning thus—

King James His *Counterblaste to Tobacco*. To which is added a Learned Discourse written by Dr. EVERARD MAYNWARINGE, Proving that Tobacco is a procuring Cause of the Scurvy. . . .

5. 1689. Another Latin Edition of James' prose works. in which 1 vol. fol. *Misocapnus* is included.
6. 10 Dec. 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at p. 1.

THE ESSAYES OF
A PRENTISE, IN THE
DIVINE ART OF
POESIE.



Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas
Vautroullier.

1585.

CVM PRIVILEGIO
REGALI.

THE CATALOGVE OF THE
workis heirin conteined.

T*He twelv Sonnets of Inuocations to the Goddis.*

The Vranie or heauenly Muse translated.

*The Metaphoricall Inuentioun of a Tragedie, callit
Phœnix.*

A Paraphrasticall translatioun out of the Poëte Lucane.

A treatise of the airt of Scottis Poësie.

*The CIIII. Psalmes of Dauid, translated out of
Tremellius.*

A Poeme of Tyme.

SONNET.

IF *Martiall* deeds, and practise of the pen
 Haue wonne to auncient *Grece* a worthie fame :
 If Battels bold, and Bookes of learned men
 Haue magnified the mightie *Romain* name :
 Then place this Prince, who well deserues the fame :
 Since he is one of *Mars* and *Pallas* race :
 For both the *Gods* in him haue sett in frame
 Their vertewes both, which both, he doth embrace.
O Macedon, adorne with heauenly grace,
O Romain stout, decorde with learned skill,
 The *Monarks* all to thee shall quite their place :
 Thy endles fame shall all the world fulfill.
 And after thee, none worthier shalbe seene,
 To sway the *Sword*, and gaine the *Laurell* greene.

T. H.

SONNET.

THE glorious *Grekis* in stately style do blaife [olde:
 The lawde, the conqurour gaue their *Homer*
 The verses *Cæsar* song in *Maroes* praise,
 The *Romanis* in remembrance depe haue rolde.
 Ye *Thespian Nymphes*, that suppe the *Nectar* colde,
 That from *Parnassis* forked topp doth fall,
 What *Alexander* or *Augustus* bolde,
 May sound his fame, whose vertewes pafs them all?
 O *Phæbus*, for thy help, heir might I call,
 And on *Minerue*, and *Maias* learned sonne :
 But since I know, none was, none is, nor shall,
 Can rightly ring the fame that he hath wonne,
 Then stay your trauels, lay your pennis adowne,
 For *Cæsars* works, shall iustly *Cæsar* crowne.

R. H.

SONNET.

THe mightie Father of the *Muses* nyne
 Who mounted thame vpon *Parnassus* hill,
 Where *Phæbus* faire amidd these *Sisters* syne
 With learned tounge satt teaching euer still,
 Of late yon God declared his woundrous will,
 That *Vranie* should teach this Prince most rare :
 Syne she informed her scholler with such skill,
 None could with him in Poesie compaire.
 Lo, heir the fructis, *Nymphes*, of thy foster faire,
 Lo heir (ô noble *Ioue*) thy will is done,
 Her charge compleit, as deid doth now declaire.
 This work will witnesse, she obeyed the sone.

O *Phæbus* then reioyce with glauncing glore,
 Since that a King doth all thy court decore.

M. VV.

SONNET.

When as my minde exemed was from caire,
 Among the *Nymphis* my self I did repose :
 Where I gaue eare to one, who did prepare
 Her sugred voice this sequell to disclose.
 Conveine your selfs (ô sisters) doe not lose
 This passing tyme which hasteth fast away :
 And yow who wrytes in stately verse and prose,
 This glorious Kings immortall gloire display.
 Tell how he doeth in tender yearis essay
 Aboue his age with skill our arts to blaise.
 Tell how he doeth with gratitude repay
 The crowne he wan for his deserued praise.

Tell how of *Ioue*, of *Mars*, but more of *God*
 The gloire and grace he hath proclaimed abroad.

M. W. F.

SONNET.

CAN goldin *Titan* shyning bright at morne
 For light of *Torchis*, cast ane greater shaw?
 Can *Thunder* reard the heicher for a horne?
 Craks *Cannons* louder, thoght ane *Cok* fould craw?
 Can our wëake breath help *Boreas* for to blaw?
 Can *Candill* lowe giue fyre a greater heit?
 Can quhytest *Svans* more quhyter mak the *Snawv*?
 Can *Virgins* teares augment the *VVinters* weit?
 Helps pyping *Pan Apollos* Musique sweit?
 Can *Fountainis* small the *Ocean sea* increffe?
 No, they augment the greater nocht a quheit:
 Bot they them selues appears to grow the lesse.
 So (worthy Prince) thy works fall mak the knawin.
 Ours helps not thyne: we steynzie bot our awin.

A. M.

De huius Libri Auētoꝛe, Herculis
Rolloci coniectura.

Q*uisquis es, entheus hic exit quo Auētoꝛe libellus,*
(Nam liber Auētoꝛem conticet ipse suum)
Dum quonam ingenio meditor, genioque subactus,
Maiora humanis viribus ista canas:
Teque adeo qui sis expendo: aut Diuus es, inquam,
Aut a Diuum aliquis forte secundus homo.
Nil sed habet simile aut Diuis, aut terra secundum:
Quanquam illis Reges proximus ornat honos.
Aut opus hoc igitur humano femine nati
Nullius, aut hoc sic Regis oportet opus.

ACROSTICHON.

I Nsigne Aucltoris vetuit præfigere nomen
 A ucltoris cuncta pectus vacuum ambitione.
 C uius præclaras laudes, heroica facta,
 O mnigenasque animi dotes, et pectora verè
 B elligera, exornat cælestis gratia Musæ.
 V era ista omnino est virtus, virtuteque maior
 S ublimis regnat generoso in pectore Christus.
 S cottia fortunata nimis bona si tua noffes
 EX imij vatis, plectrum qui pollice docto
 T emperat, et Musas regalem inducit in aulam:
 V icturus post fata diu: Nam fama superstes
 S emper crit, semper florebit gloria vatis.

Pa. Ad. Ep. Sanct.

EIVSDEM AD LECTOREM
EPIGRAMMA.

S I quæras quis fit tam compti carminis aucltor,
 Aucltorem audebis Musa negare tuum?
 Ille quidem vetuit, cui te parere necesse est:
 Quis tantum in Diuas obtinet imperium?
 Cui parent Musæ, Phæbus quo vate superbit,
 Et capiti demit laurea ferta suo.
 Cui lauri, et sceptri primi debentur honores,
 Cui multa cingit laude tyara caput.
 Quo duce spes certa est diuifis orbe Britannis,
 Haud diuifsa iterum regna futura duo.
 Progenies Regum, Regnorumque vnicus hæres,
 Scilicet obscurus delituisse potest!

ANE QVADRAIN OF
ALEXANDRIN VERSE.

IMmortall Gods, sen I with pen and Poets airt [small,
So willingly hes servde you, though my skill be
I pray then euerie one of you to help his pairt,
In granting this my fute, which after follow shall.

SONNET. 1.

FIRST *Ioue*, as greatest God aboue the rest,
Graunt thou to me a pairt of my desyre :
That when in verse of thee I write my best,
This onely thing I earnestly requyre,
That thou my veine Poetique so inspyre,
As they may fuirlye think, all that it reid,
When I descryue thy might and thundring fyre,
That they do see thy self in verie deid
From heauen thy greatest *Thunders* for to leid,
And syne upon the *Gyants* heads to fall :
Or cumming to thy *Semele* with speid
In *Thunders* least, at her request and call :
Or throwing *Phaethon* downe from heauen to eard.
With threatning thunders, making monstrous reard.

SONNET. 2.

A*Pollo* nixt, assist me in a parte,
Sen vnto *Ioue* thou secound art in might,
That when I do descryue thy shyning Carte,
The Readers may esteme it in their sight.
And graunt me als, thou worlds ô onely light,
That when I lyke for subiect to deuys
To wryte, how as before thy countenance bright
The yeares do stand, with seasons dowble twyse.
That so I may descryue the verie guyse
Thus by thy help, of yeares wherein we liue :
As Readers syne may say, heir surely lyes,
Of seasons sowre, the glasse and picture viue.
Grant als, that so I may my verses warpe,
As thou may play them syne vpon thy Harpe.

SONNET. 3.

AND first, ô *Phæbus*, when I do descriue [flowris,
 The *Springtyme* sproutar of the herbes and
 Whome with in rank none of the soure do striue,
 But nearest thee do stande all tymes and howris :
 Graunt Readers may este me, they sie the showris,
 Whose balmie dropps so softlie dois distell,
 Which watrie cloudds in mesure suche downe powris,
 As makis the herbis, and verie earth to smell
 With fauours sweit, fra tyme that onis thy sell
 The vapouris softlie sowkis with smyling cheare,
 VVhilks syne in cloudds are keiped clos and well,
 VVhill vehement *Winter* come in tyme of yeare.
 Graunt, when I lyke the *Springtyme* to displaye.
 That Readers think they sie the Spring alwaye.

SONNET. 4.

AND graunt that I may so viuely put in verse
 The *Sommer*, when I lyke theirol to treat :
 As when in writ I do theirol reherse,
 Let Readers think they fele the burning heat,
 And graithly see the earth, for lacke of weit,
 With withering drouth and Sunne so gaigged all,
 As for the grasse on feild, the dust in streit
 Doth ryse and flee aloft, long or it fall.
 Yea, let them think, they heare the song and call,
 Which *Floras* wingde musicians maks to sound.
 And that to taste, and smell, beleue they shall
 Delicious fruiçtis, wilks in that tyme abound.
 And shortly, all their senses so bereaued,
 As eyes and earis, and all may be deceaued.

SONNET. 5.

OR when I lyke my pen for to imploy
 Of fertile *Harvest* in the description trew :
 Let Readers think, they instantly conuoy
 The busie shearers for to reap their dew,
 By cutting rypest cornes with hookes anew :
 Which cornes their heauy heads did downward bow,
 Els feking earth againe, from whence they grew,
 And vnto *Ceres* do their seruice vow.
 Let Readers also surely think and trow,
 They see the painfull *Vignerons* pull the grapes :
 First tramping them, and after pressing now
 The greneft clusters gathered into heapes.
 Let then the *Harvest* so viue to them appeare,
 As if they saw both cornes and clusters neare.

SONNET. 6.

BUT let them think, in verie deid they feill,
 When as I do the *VVinters* stormes vnfolde,
 The bitter frosts, which waters dois congeill
 In *VVinter* feason, by a pearfing colde.
 And that they heare the whiddering *Boreas* bolde,
 With hiddeous hurling, rolling Rocks from hie.
 Or let them think, they see god *Saturne* olde,
 Whose hoarie haire owercouering earth, maks flie
 The lytle birds in flocks, fra tyme they see
 The earth and all with stormes of fnow owerclod :
 Yea let them think, they heare the birds that die,
 Make piteous mone, that *Saturnes* hairis are fped.
Apollo, graunt thir foirfaid fuitis of myne,
 All fyue I fay, that thou may crowne me fyne.

SONNET. 7.

AND when I do descriue the *Oceans* force,
 Graunt syne, ô *Neptune*, god of seas profound,
 That readars think on leebord, and on dworce,
 And how the Seas owerflowed this massiue round :
 Yea, let them think, they heare a stormy found,
 Which threatnis wind, and darknes come at hand :
 And water in their shippis syne to abound,
 By weltring waues, lyke huest towres on land.
 Then let them thinke their shipp now low on sand,
 Now climmes and skippes to top of rageing seas,
 Now downe to hell, when shippmen may not stand,
 But lifts their hands to pray thee for some eas.
 Syne let them think thy *Trident* doth it calme,
 Which maks it cleare and smothe lyke glas or alme.

SONNET. 8.

AND graunt the lyke when as the swimming sort
 Of all thy subiects skaled I list declare :
 As *Triton* monster with a manly port,
 Who drownd the *Trojan* trumpetour most raire :
 As *Marmails* wyse, who wepis in wether faire :
 And marvelous *Monkis*, I meane *Monkis* of the see.
 Bot what of monsters, when I looke and staire
 On wouderous heapes of subiectis seruing the ?
 As whailes so huge, and *Sea eylis* rare, that be
 Myle longs, in crawling cruikis of fixtie pace :
 And *Daulphins*, *Seahorse*. *Selchs* with oxin ee,
 And *Merfwynis*, *Pertrikis* als of fishes race.
 In short, no fowle doth flie, nor beast doth go,
 But thow hast fishes lyke to them and mo.

SONNET. 9.

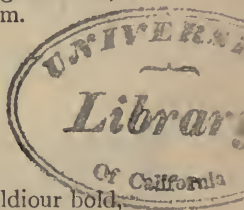
Dreidfull *Pluto*, brother thrid to *Ioue*,
 With *Proserpin*, thy wife, the quene of hell
 My fute to yow is, when I like to loauē
 The ioyes that do in *Elise* field excell :
 Or when I like great *Tragedies* to tell :
 Or flyte, or murne my *fate* : or wryte with feare
 The plagues ye do fend furth with *Diræ* fell.
 Let Readers think, that both they see and heare
Alecto, threatning *Turnus* sifter deare :
 And heare *Celænos* wings, with *Harpyes* all :
 And see dog *Cerberus* rage with hiddeous beare,
 And all that did *AEneas* once befall.

When as he past throw all those dongeons dim,
 The foresaid feilds syne vifited by him.

SONNET. 10.

Furious *Mars*, thow warlyke fouldiour bold,
 And hardy *Pallas*, goddeſs stout and graue :
 Let Reidars think, when combats manyfold
 I do defcriue, they see two champions braue,
 With armies huge approaching to refaue
 Thy will, with cloudds of duſt into the air.
 Syne Phifers, Drummes, and Trumpets cleir do craue
 The pelmell chok with larum loude alwhair,
 Then nothing hard but gunnis, and ratling fair
 Of ſpeares, and clincking ſwords with glaunce ſo cleir,
 As if they foght in ſkyes, then wrangles thair
 Men killd, vnkilld, whill *Parcas* breath reteir.

There lyes the venquiſht wailing fore his chaunce :
 There lyes the victor, rewing els the daunce.



SONNET. 11.

ANd at your handis I earnestly do craue,
 O facound *Mercure*, with the *Muses* nyne,
 That for conducting guyde I may you haue,
 Aswell vnto my pen, as my Ingyne.
 Let Readers think, thy eloquence deuyn
 O *Mercure*, in my Poems doth appeare :
 And that *Parnassis* flowing fountaine syne
 Into my works doth shyne lyke cristall cleare.
 O *Muses*, let them think that they do heare
 Your voyces all into my verse resound.
 And that your vertewis singuler and feir
 May wholly all in them be also found.
 Of all that may the perfyte Poems make,
 I pray you let my verses haue no lake.

SONNET. 12.

IN short, you all forenamed gods I pray
 For to concur with one accord and will,
 That all my works may perfyte be alway :
 Which if ye doe, then sweare I for to fill
 My works immortall with your praises still :
 I shall your names eternall euer sing,
 I shall tread downe the grasse on *Parnass* hill
 By making with your names the world to ring :
 I shall your names from all obliuion bring.
 I lofty *Virgill* shall to life restoir,
 My subiects all shalbe of heauenly thing,
 How to delate the gods immortals gloir.
 Essay me once, and if ye find me swerue,
 Then thinke, I do not graces such deserue.

FINIS.



THE VRANIE

translated.





* *To the fauorable*

Reader

HAuing oft reuolued, and red ouer (fauorable Reader) the booke and Poems of the deuine and Illuster Poëte, *Salust du Bartas*, I was moued by the oft reading and perusing of them, with a restles and lofty desire, to preas to attaine to the like vertue. But fen (alas) God, by nature hathe refused me the like lofty and quick ingyne, and that my dull *Muse*, age, and Fortune, had refused me the lyke skill and learning, I was constrained to haue refuge to the secound, which was, to doe what lay in me, to set forth his praise, fen I could not merite the lyke my self. Which I thought, I could not do so well, as by publishing some worke of his, to this yle of *Brittain* (swarming full of quick ingynes,) aswell as they ar made manifest already to France. But knowing my self to vnskilfull and grosse, to translate any of his heauenly and learned works, I almost left it of, and was ashamed of that opinion also. Whill at the last, preferring foolehardines and a good intention, to an vtter dispaire and sleuth, I resolued vnaduyedly to assay the translating in my language of the easiest and shortest of all his difficile, and prolixed Poems: to wit, the *Vranie* or heauenlye Muse, which, albeit it be not well translated, yet hope I, ye will excuse me (fauorable Reader) fen I neither ordained it, nor auowes it for a iust translation: but onely set it forth, to the end, that, albeit the Prouerb faith, that foolehardines proceeds of ignoraunce, yet some quick sprited man of this yle, borne vnder the same, or as

The Preface.

happie a Planet, as *Du Bartas* was, might by the reading of it, bee moued to translate it well, and best, where I haue bothe euill, and worst broyled it.

For that cause, I haue put in, the French on the one side of the leif, and my blocking on the other: nought thereby to giue prooffe of my iust translating; but by the contrair, to let appeare more plainly to the foresaid reader, wherin I haue erred, to the effect, that with lesse difficulty he may escape those snares wherin I haue fallen. I must also desire you to bear with it, albeit it be replete with innumerable and intolerable faultes: sic as, Ryming in tearmes, and dyuers others, whilkis ar forbidden in my owne treatise of the Art of Poësie, in the hinder end of this booke, I must, I say, praye you for to appardone mee, for three causes. First, because that translations are limitat, and restraïnd in some things, more than free inuentions are, Therefore reafoun would, that it had more libertie in others. Secoundlie, because I made nought my treatise of that intention, that eyther I, or any others behoued astricktly to follow it: but that onely it should shew the perfection of Poesie, whereunto fewe or none can attaine. Thirdlye, because, that (as I shewe alreadye) I avow it not for a iust translation. Befydes that I haue but ten feete in my lyne, where he hath twelue, and yet translates him lyne by lyne. Thus not doubting, fauorable Reader, but you will accept my

intention and trauellis in good parte,

(sen I requyre no farder,) I

bid you faire well.

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L'VRANIE, OV MVSE CELESTE.



IE n'estoy point encor en l'Auril de
 mon aage,
 Qu'vn desir d'affranchir mon renom
 du trespas,
 Chagrin, me faisoit perdre et repos,
 et repas,
 Par le braue proiet de maint sçauant
 ouirage.

Mais comme vn pelerin, qui sur le tard, rencontre
 Vn fourchu carrefour, douteux, s'arreste court :
 Et d'esprit, non des pieds, de çà de là discourt,
 Par les diuers chemins, que la Lune luy monstre.

Parmi tant de sentiers qui, fleuris, se vont rendre
 Sur le mont, où Phœbus guerdonne les beaux vers
 De l'honneur immortel des lauriers tout-iour verds,
 Ie demeuroy confus, ne sçachant lequel prendre.

Tantost i'entreprenoy d'orner la Grecque Scene
 D'vn vestement Francois. Tantost dvn vers plus haut,
 Hardi, i'ensanglantoy le François eschafaut
 Des Tyrans d'Ilion, de Thebes, de Mycene.

Ie consacroy tantost à l'Aonide bande
 L'Histoire des Francois : et ma saincte fureur
 Desmentant à bon droit la trop commune erreur,
 Faisoit le Mein Gaulois, non la Seine Alemande.

Tantost ie desseignoy d'vne plume flateuse
 Le los non meritè des Rois et grands Seigneurs :
 Et, pour me voir bien tost riche d'or, et d'honneurs,
 D'vn cœur bas ie rendoy mercenaire ma Muse.

Et tandis ie vouloy chanter le fils volage
 De la molle Cypris, et le mal doux-amer,



THE VRANIE, OR HEA- VENLY MVSE.



Carce was I yet in springtyme of my
years,
When greening great for fame about
my pears
Did make me lose my wonted chere
and rest,
Effaying learned works with curious
brest.

But as the *Pilgrim*, who for lack of light,
Cumd on the parting of two wayes at night,
He stays affone, and in his mynde doeth cast,
What way to take while Moonlight yet doth last.
So I amongst the paths vpon that hill,
Where *Phæbus* crowns all verses euer still
Of endles praise, with *Laurers* always grene,
Did stay confusde, in doubt what way to mene.
I whyles essaide the *Grece* in Frenche to praise,
Whyles in that tounge I gaue a lusty glaife
For to descryue the *Troian* Kings of olde,
And them that *Thebes* and *Mycens* crowns did holde.
And whiles I had the storye of Fraunce elected,
Which to the Muses I should haue directed :
My holy furie with consent of nane,
Made frenche the *Mein*, and nowyse dutche the *Sein*.
Whiles thought I to set foorth with flattring pen :
The praise vntrewe of Kings and noble men,
And that I might both golde and honours haue,
With courage basse I made my Muse a slaue.
And whyles I thought to sing the fickle boy
Of *Cypris* soft, and loues to-fwete anoy,

Que les plus beaux esprits souffrent pour trop aimer,
Discours, où me pousoit ma nature, et mon aage.

Or tandis qu' inconstant ie ne me puis refoudre,
De çà, de là poussé d vn vent ambitieux,
Vne sainte beauté se presente à mes yeux,
Fille, comme ie croy, du grand Dieu lance-foudre.

Sa face est angelique, angelique son geste,
Son discours tout diuin, et tout parfait son corps :
Et sa bouche à neuf-voix imite en ses accords
Le son harmonieux de la dance celeste.

Son chef est honoré d'vne riche couronne
Faitte à sept plis, glissans d vn diuers mouuement,
Sur chacun de ses plis se tourne obliquement
Ie ne sçay quel rondeau, qui sur nos chefs raionne.

Le premier est de plomb, et d estain le deuxiesme.
Le troisieme d acier, le quart d or iaunissant,
Le quint est composé d electre pallissant,
Le fuyuant de Mercure, et d argent le septiesme.

Son corps est affublé d vne mante azurée,
Semée haut et bas d vn million de feux,
Qui d vn bel art sans art distinctement confus,
Decorent de leurs rais ceste beauté sacrée.

Icy luit le grand Char, icy flambe la Lyre,
Icy la Poussiniere, icy les clairs Bessons,
Icy le Trebuschet, icy les deux Poissons,
Et mille autres brandons que ie ne puis descrire.

Ie suis [dit elle alors] ceste docte VRANIE,
Qui sur les gonds astrez transporte les humains,
Faisant voir à leurs yeux, et toucher à leurs mains,
Ce que la Cour celeste et contemple et manie.

Ie quinte-essence l ame : et fay que le Poete
Se surmontant soy mesme, ensonce vn haut discours,
Qui, diuin, par l oreille attire les plus sourds,
Anime les rochers, et les fleuves arreste.

Agreable est le sonde mes doctes germanes :
Mais leur gosier, qui peut terre et ciel enchanter,
Ne me cede pas moins en l art de bien chanter,
Qu'au Rosignol l'Oïson, les Pies aux Syrenes. [aïsse
Pren moy donques pour guide : esleue au ciel ton

To lofty sprits that are therewith made blynd,
 To which discours my nature and age inclynd.
 But whill I was in doubt what way to go,
 With wind ambitious tossed to and fro :
 A holy beuty did to mee appeare,
 The *Thundrers* daughter seeming as she weare.
 Her porte was Angellike with Angels face,
 With comely shape and tounge of heauenly grace :
 Her nynevoiced mouth resembled into found
 The daunce harmonious making heauen resound.
 Her head was honorde with a costly crown,
 Seuinfolde and round, to dyuers motions boun :
 On euery folde I know not what doth glance,
 Aboue our heads into a circuler dance.
 The first it is of Lead, of Tin the nixt,
 The third of Stele, the fourth of Gold vnmixt, The seuin
Planets.
 The fyfth is made of pale Electre light,
 The sixt of Mercure, feuint of Siluer bright.
 Her corps is couered with an Afure gowne, Firnament.
 Where thousand fires ar fowne both vp and downe :
 Whilks with an arte, but arte, confufde in order, Fixed
Starres.
 Dois with their beames decore thereof the border.
 Heir thynes the Charlewain, there the Harp giues light,
 And heir the Seamans starres, and there Twinnis bright,
 And heir the Ballance, there the Fishes twaine,
 With thousand other fyres, that pas my braine.
 I am said she, that learned VRANIE,
 That to the Starres transports humanitie,
 And maks men see and twiche with hands and ene
 It that the heauenly court contemplating bene.
 I quint-essence the Poets foule so well,
 While he in high discours excede him fell,
 Who by the eare the deafest doeth allure,
 Reuiues the rocks, and stayes the floods for sure. Nyne
Muses.
 The tone is pleasaunt of my * sisters deir :
 Yet though their throts make heauen and earth admire,
 They yeld to me no lesse in singing well,
 Then Pye to Syraine, goose to Nightingell.
 Take me for guyde, lyft vp to heauen thy wing

Saluste, chante moy du Tout-puissant l honneur,
 Et remontant le luth du Ieffean sonneur,
 Courageux, broffe apres la couronne eternelle.

Je ne puis d vn œil sec, voir mes sœurs maquerelles,
 Des amoreuz François, dont les mignards escrits [cris,
 Sont pleins de feints souspirs, de feints pleurs, de feints
 D'impudiques discours, et de vaines querelles.

Je ne puis d vn œil sec voir que l on mette en vente,
 Nos diuines chanfons : et que d vn flateur vers,
 Pour gaigner la faueur des Princes plus peruers,
 Vn Commode, vn Neron, vn Caligule on vante.

Mais, sur tout, ie ne puis sans souspirs et sans larmes
 Voir les vers employez contre l autheur des vers :
 Je ne puis voir battu le Roy de l'vniuers
 De ses propres soldats, et de ses propres armes.

L'homme a les yeux fillez de nuits Cimmeriennes,
 Et s'il a quelque bien, tant soit peu precieux,
 Par differentes mains il la receu des cieux :
 Mais Dieu seul nous apprend les chanfons Delphiennes.

Tout art s'apprend par art : la seule Poesie
 Est vn pur don celeste : et nul ne peut gouster
 Le miel, que nous faisons de Pinde degoutter
 S'il n'a d'vn sacré feu la poitrine faisie.

De ceste source vient, que maints grands personnage
 Consommez en sçauoir, voire en prose diferts,
 Se trauaillent en vain à composer des vers :
 Et qu'vn ieune apprenti fait de plus beaux ouurages.

De là vient que iadis le chantre Meonide,
 Combien que mendiant, et sans maistre, et sans yeux,
 A vaincu par ses vers les nouveaux, et les vieux,
 Chantant si bien Vlyffe, et le preux Aeacide.

De là vient qu'vn Nason ne peut parler en prose,
 De là vient que Dauid mes chants si tost aprit,
 De pasteur fait Poëte, et que maint ieune esprit [pose.
 Ne sçachant point nostre art, suyuant nostre art com-

Recherche nuict et iour les ondes Castalides :
 Regrimpe nuict et iour contre le roc Besson :
 Sois disciple d'Homere, et du sainct nourrisson
 D'Ande, l'heureux feiour des vierges Pierides.

O *Salust*, Gods immortals honour sing :
 And bending higher *Dauids* Lute in tone,
 With courage seke yon endles crowne abone.
 I no wais can, vnwet my cheekes, beholde
 My sisters made by Frenchemen macquerels olde,
 Whose mignarde writts, but faynd lamenting vaine,
 And fayned teares and shamles tales retaine.
 But weping neither can I see them spyte
 Our heauenly verse, when they do nothing wryte,
 But Princes flattery that ar tyrants rather
 Then *Nero*, *Commode*, or *Caligule* ather.
 But specially but fobbes I neuer shall
 Se verse bestowde gainst him made verses all,
 I can not see his proper soldiars ding
 With his owne armes him that of all is King.
 Mans eyes are blinded with *Cimmerien* night :
 And haue he any good, beit neuer so light,
 From heauen, by mediat moyens, he it reaches,
 Bot only God the *Delphiens* song vs teaches.
 All art is learned by art, this art alone
 It is a heauenly gift : no flesh nor bone
 Can preif the honnie we from *Pinde* distill,
 Except with holy fyre his brest we fill.
 From that spring flowes, that men of speciall chose,
 Confumde in learning, and perfyte in prose,
 For to make verse in vaine dois trauell take.
 When as a prentise fairer works will make.
 That made that *Homer*, who a songster bene,
 Albeit a beggar, lacking master, and ene,
 Exceded in his verse both new and olde,
 In singing *Vlifs* and *Achilles* bolde.
 That made that *Naso* nocht could speak but verse,
 That *Dauid* made my songs so sone reherse,
 Of pastor Poët made., yea youngmen whyles
 Vnknowing our art, yet by our art compyles.
 Seke night and day *Castalias* waltring waas,
 Climme day and night the twinrocks of *Parnaas* :
 Be *Homers* skoller, and his, was born in *Ande*, *Virgill*
 The happie dwelling place of all our bande.

Lis tant que tu voudras, volume apres volume,
 Les liures de Pergame, et de la grande cité,
 Qui du nom d'Alexandre a son nom emprunté :
 Exerce incessamment et ta langue, et ta plume.

Ioin tant que tu voudras, pour vn carme bien faire
 L'obscure nuit au iour, et le iour â la nuit,
 Si ne pourras tu point cueillir vn digne fruit
 D'vn si fascheux trauail, si Pallas t'est contraire. [forte,

Car du tout hors de l'homme il fault que l'homme
 Sil veut faire des vers qui facent teste aux ans :
 Il fault qu'entre nos mains il sequestre ses sens :
 Il fault qu'un saint ecclase au plus haut ciel l'emporte.

D'autant que tout ainsi que la fureur humaine
 Rend l'homme moins qu'humain : la diuine fureur
 Rend l'homme plus grand qu'homme : et d'une sainte
 Sur le ciel porte-feux à son gré le promeine. [erreur

Cest d'un si sacré lieu que les diuins poëtes
 Nous apportent ça bas de si doctes propos,
 Et des vers non suiets au pouuoir d'Atropos,
 Truchemens de Nature, et du Ciel interpretes.

Les vrais Poëtes sont tels que la cornemuse,
 Qui pleine de vent sonne, et vuide perd le son :
 Car leur fureur durant, dure aussi leur chanson :
 Et si la fureur cesse, aussi cesse leur Muse.

Puis donques que les vers ont au ciel pris naissance,
 Esprits vrayment diuins, aurez vous bien le cœur
 De prononcer un vers et profane, et moqueur
 Contre cil, qui conduit des cieux astrez la danse ?

Serez vous tant ingrats, que de rendre vos plumes
 Ministres de la chair, et serues de peché ?

Tout-iour donques fera vostre style empesché
 A remplir, mensongers, de songes vos volumes ?

Ferez-vous, ô trompeurs, tout-iour d'un diable un Ange ?
 Fendrez vous tout-iour l'air de vos amoureux cris ?
 Hé ! n'orra on iamais dans vos doctes escrits
 Retentir haut et clair du grand Dieu la louange ?

Ne vous suffit il pas de sentir dans vostre ame
 Le Cyprien brandon, sans que plus effrontez
 Qu'une Lays publique, encor vous euentez

How oft thou lykes reid ouer booke efter booke,
 The bookes of *Troy*, and of that towne which tooke
 Her name from *Alexander* Monark then, Alexandria
 Exerce but ceafe thy tounge and eke thy pen.
 Yea, if to make good verfe thou hes sic cure,
 Ioyne night and day, and day to night obscure,
 Yet fhall thou not the worthy frute reape fo
 Of all thy paines, if *Pallas* be thy fo.
 For man from man must wholly parted be,
 If with his age, his verfe do well agree.
 Amongft our hands, he must his witts refing,
 A holy trance to highest heauen him bring.
 For euen as humane fury maks the man. ✓
 Les then the man : So heauenly fury can
 Make man pas man, and wander in holy mist,
 Vpon the fyrie heauen to walk at list.
 Within that place the heauenly Poëts fought ✓
 Their learning, fyne to vs heare downe it brought,
 With verfe that ought to *Atropos* no dewe,
 Dame *Natures* trunchmen, heauens interprets trewe,
 For Poets right are lyke the pype alway,
 Who full doth found, and empty stayes to play : ✓
 Euen fo their fury lafting, lafts their tone,
 Their fury ceaft, their Muse doth flay affone.
 Sen verfe did then in heauen first bud and blume,
 If ye be heauenly, how dar ye presume
 A verfe prophane, and mocking for to fing
 Gainft him that leads of ftarrie heauens the ring?
 Will ye then fo ingrately make your pen,
 A flauie to finne, and ferue but fleshly men?
 Shall ftill your brains be bufied then to fill
 With dreames, ô dreamers, euery booke and bill?
 Shall Satan ftill be God for your behoue?
 Still will ye riue the aire with cryes of lone?
 And fhall there neuer into your works appeare,
 The praife of God, refounding loud and cleare?
 Suffis it nocht ye feele into your hait
 The *Ciprian* torche, vnles more malapairt
 Then *Lais* commoun quean, ye blow abroad

Par le monde abusé vostre impudique flamme ?

Ne vous suffit il pas de croupir en delices,
 Sans que vous corrompiez, par vos nombres charmeurs,
 Du lecteur indiscret les peu-constantes mœurs,
 Luy faisant embrasfer pour les vertus les vices ?

Les tons, nombres, et chants, dont se fait l'harmonie,
 Qui rend le vers si beau, ont sur nous tel pouuoir,
 Que les plus durs Catons ils peuuent esmouuoir,
 Agitant nos esprits d'une douce manie.

Ainsi que le cachet dedans la cire forme
 Presque vn autre cachet, le Poete sçauant,
 Va si bien dans nos cœurs ses passions grauant,
 Que presque l'auditeur en l'auteur se transforme.

Car la force des vers, qui secrettement glisse,
 Par des secrets conduits, dans nos entendemens,
 Y empreint tous les bons et mauuais mouuemens,
 Qui sont representez par vn docte artifice.

Et c'est pourquoy Platon hors de sa Republique
 Chassoit les escriuains, qui souloient par leurs vers
 Rendre meschans les bons, plus peruers les peruers,
 Sapans par leurs beaux mots l'honesteté publique.

Non ceux qui dans leurs chants marioient les beaux
 Auec les beaux suiets : ore entonnans le los [termes
 Du iuste foudroyeur : ore d'un saint propos,
 Seruans aux desuoyez et de guides et d'Hermes.

Profanes escriuains, vostre impudique rime,
 Est cause, que l'on met nos chantres mieux-disans
 Au rang des basteleurs, des boufons, des plaifans :
 Et qu'encore moins qu'eux le peuple les estime.

Vos faites de Clion vne Thais impure :
 D'Helicon vn bordeau : vous faites impudens,
 Par vos lascifs discours, que les peres prudens
 Deffendent à leurs fils des carmes la lecture.

Mais si foulans aux pieds la deité volage,
 Qui blece de ces traits vos idolatres cœurs,
 Vous vouliez employer vos plus sainctes fureurs
 A faire voir en France vn sacré-sainct ouurage.

Chacun vous priferoit, comme estans secretaires,
 Et ministres sacrez du Roy de l'vniuers.

But shame, a thort the world, your shameles god ?
 Abusers, staikes it not to lurk in lust,
 Without ye smit with charming numbers iust
 The fickle maners of the reader flight,
 In making him embrace, for day, the night ?
 The harmony of nomber tone and song,
 That makes the verse so fair, it is so strong ✓
 Ouer vs, as hardest *Catos* it will moue,
 With spreits aflought, and sweete transported loue.
 For as into the wax the seals imprent
 Is lyke a seale, right so the Poët gent,
 Doeth graue so viue in vs his passions strange,
 As maks the reader, halfe in author change.
 For verses force is sic, that softly flydes
 Throw secret poris, and in our fences bydes,
 As makes them haue both good and euill imprented,
 Which by the learned works is represented.
 And therefore *Platos* common wealth did pack
 None of these Poëts, who by verse did make
 The goodmen euill, and the wicked worse,
 Whose pleasaunt words betraied the publick corse.
 Not those that in their songs good tearmes alwaise
 Ioynd with fair Them: whyles thundring out the praise
 Of God, iust Thundrer: whyles with holy speache,
 Lyke *Hermes* did the way to strayers teache.
 Your shameles rymes, are cause, ô Scribes prophane,
 That in the lyke opinion we remaine
 With Iuglers, buffons, and that foolish feames :
 Yea les then them, the people of vs esteames.
 For *Clio* ye put *Thais* vyle in vre,
 For *Helicon* a bordell. Ye procure
 By your lasciuious speache, that fathers fage
 Defends verse reading, to their yonger age.
 But lightleing * yon fleing godhead flight,
 Who in Idolatrous breasts his darts hath pight. Cupide
 If that ye would imploy your holy traunce,
 To make a holy hallowde worke in Fraunce :
 Then euery one wolde worthy scribes you call,
 And holy seruants to the King of all.

Chacun reuereroit comme oracles vos vers :
Et les grands commettroient en vos mains leurs affaires.

La liaifon des vers fut iadis inuentee
Seulement pour traiter les myſteres ſacrez
Auec plus de reſpect : et de long temps apres
Par les carmes ne fut autre choſe chantee.

Ainſi mon grand Dauid ſur la corde tremblante
De ſon luth tout-diuin ne ſonne rien que Dieu.
Ainſi le conducteur de l'exercite Hebrieu,
Sauué des rouges flots, le los du grand Dieu chante.

Ainſi Iudith, Delbore, au milieu des genſ d'armes,
Ainſi Iob, Ieremie, accablez de douleurs,
D vn carme bigarré de cent mille couleurs
Deſcriuoient ſainement leurs ioyes, et leurs larmes.

Voyla pourquoy Satan, qui fin ſe tranſfigure
En Ange de clarté pour nous enforcer,
Ses preſtres et ſes dieux faiſoit iadis parler,
Non d vne libre language, ains par nombre, et meſure.

Ainſi, ſous Apollon la folle Phœmonoe
En hexametres vers ſes oracles chantoit :
Et, par douteux propos, cauteuſe affrontoit
Non le Grec ſeulement, ains l'Ibere, et l'Eoe.

Ainſi l antique voix en Dodone adorée,
Aeſculape, et Ammon en vers prophetizoient,
Les Sibylles en vers le futur prediſoient,
Et les preſtres prioient en oraifon nombrée.

Ainſi Line, Heſiode, et celui dont la lyre
Oreilloit, comme on dit, les rocs, et les foreſts,
Oferent autrefois les plus diuins ſecrets
De leur profond ſçauoir en doctes vers eſcrire.

Vous qui tant deſirez vos fronts de laurier ceindre,
Où pourriez vous trouuer vn champ plus ſpacieux,
Que le los de celui qui tient le frein des cieux,
Qui fait trembler les monts, qui fait l'Erebe craindre ?

Ce ſuiet eſt de vray la Corne d'abondance,
C'eſt vn grand magazin riche en diſcours ſaconds,
C'eſt vn grand Ocean, qui n'a riue, ny fonds,
Vn ſurjon immortel de diuine eloquence.

L'humble ſuiet ne peut qu'humble diſcours produire :

Echone your verfe for oracles wolde take,
 And great men of their counsell wolde you make.
 The verfes knitting was found out and tryt,
 For finging only holy myfteries by it
 With greater grace. And efter that, were pend
 Longtyme no verfe, but for that only end.
 Euen fo my *Dauid* on the trembling ftrings
 Of heauenly harps, Gods only praife he fings.
 Euen fo the leader of the *Hebreu* hoft
 Gods praife did fing vpon the Redfea coft
 So *Judith* and *Delbor* in the foldiers throngs,
 So *Iob* and *Ieremie*, preaft with woes and wrongs,
 Did right defcryue their ioyes, their woes and torts,
 In variant verfe of hundreth thousand forts.
 And therefore crafty Sathan, who can feame
 An Angell of light, to witch vs in our dreame,
 He caufde his gods and preefts of olde to fpeake
 By number and meafure, which they durft not breake.
 So fond *Phæmonoë* vnder *Apollos* wing,
 Her oracles *Hexameter* did fing :
 With doubtffum talk fhe craftely begylde,
 Not only *Grece*, but *Spaine* and *Indes* fhe fylde.
 That olde voce ferude in *Dodon*, fpak in verfe,
 So *Æfculap* did, and fo did *Ammon* fearfe,
 So *Sybills* tolde in verfe, what was to come :
 The Preefts did pray by numbers, all and fome.
 So *Hefiod*, *Line*, and he* whose Lute they fay, Orpheus
 Made rocks and forrefts come to heare him play,
 Durft well their heauenly fecrets all difcloes,
 In learned verfe, that softly flydes and goes.
 O ye that wolde your browes with *Laurel* bind,
 What larger feild I pray you can you find,
 Then is his praife, who brydles heauens moft cleare,
 Maks mountaines tremble, and howeft hells to feare?
 That is a horne of plenty well repleat :
 That is a ftorehoufe riche, a learning feat.
 An Ocean hudge, both lacking shore and ground,
 Of heauenly eloquence a fpring profound.
 From fubiefts bafe, a bafe difcourf dois fpring,

Mais le graue fuiet de foymesme produit
Graues et mafles mots : de foymesmes il luit,
Et fait le fainct honneur de fôn chantre reluire.

Or donc fi vous voulez apres vos cendres viure,
N'imites Eroftrat, qui pour viure, brufte
Le temple Ephesien : ou celuy qui moula,
Pour eftendre fon nom, vn cruel veau de cuiure.

Ne vueillez employer vofre rare artifice
A chanter la Cyprine, et fon fils emplumé :
Car il vaut beaucoup mieux n'efre point renommé,
Que fe voir renommé pour raifon de fon vice.

Vierges font les neuf fœurs, qui dancent fur Parnaffe,
Vierge vofre Pallas : et vierge ce beau corps
Qu' vn fleuve vit changer fur les humides bords
En l'arbre tout-iour vert, qui vous cheueux enlace.

Confacrez moy pluftoft cefte rare eloquence
A chanter hautement les miracles compris
Dans le facré fueillet : et de vos beaux esprits
Verfez là, mes amis, toute la quinte-efcence. [melle

Que Chrift, comme Homme-Dieu, foit la croupe iu-
Sur qui vous fommeillez. Que pour cheual ailé
L'Efprit du Trois-fois grand, d vn blanc pigeon voilé,
Vous face ruifeler vne fource immortelle.

Tout ouurage excellent la memoire eternize
De ceux qui tant foit peu trauaillent apres luy :
Le Maufolee a fait viure iufquaiourd huy
Timothee, Bryace, et Scope, et Artemife.

Hiram feroit fans nom, fans la fainte afsiftance
Qu'il fit au bafiment du temple d'Ifraël.
Et fans l'Arche de Dieu l'Hebrieu Befeleel
Seroit enfeueli fous eternal filence.

Et puis que la beauté de ces rares ouurages
Fait viure apres la mort tous ceux qui les ont faits,
Combien qu'avec le temps les plus feurs foient deffaits
Par rauines, par feux, par guerres, par orages.

Penfez, ie vous fuppli, combien fera plus belle
La louange, qu heureux, ça bas vous acquerrez,
Lors que dans vos fains vers DIEV feul vous chanterez
Puis qu vn nom immortel vient de chofe immortelle.

A lofty subiect of it selfe doeth bring
 Graue words and weghtie, of it selfe diuine,
 And makes the authors holy honour shine.
 If ye wolde after ashes liue, bewaire,
 To do lyke *Erostrat*, who brunt the faire
Ephesian temple, or him, to win a name,
 * Who built of brasse, the crewell Calfe vntame. *Perillus*
 Let not your art so rare then be defylde,
 In singin *Venus* and her fethred chyde:
 For better it is without renowme to be,
 Then be renownde for vyle iniquitie.
 Those nyne are Maides, that daunce vpon *Parnaas*?
 Learnd *Pallas* is a Virgin pure, lyke as
 * That fair, whome waters changed on wattry banks *Daphne*
 Into * that tre still grene, your hair that hanks. *Laurell*
 Then consecrat that eloquence most rair,
 To sing the lofty miracles and fair
 Of holy Scripture: and of your good ingyne,
 Poure out, my frends, there your fist-essence syne.
 Let Christ both God and man your Twinrock be,
 Whome on ye slepe: for that *hors who did fle, *Pegasus*
 Speak of that *thryfe great spreit, whose dow most white
 Mote make your spring flow euer with delyte. *Holyghost.*
 All excellent worke beare record euer shall,
 Of trauellers in it, though their paines be small.
 The *Mausole* tombe the names did eternise
 Of *Scope*, *Timotheus*, *Briace* and *Artemise*.
 But *Hirams* holy help, it war vnknowne
 What he in building *Izraels* Temple had showne,
 Without Gods Ark *Beseleel* Iewe had bene
 In euerlasting silence buried clene.
 Then, since the bewty of those works most rare
 Hath after death made liue all them that ware
 Their builders: though them selues with tyme be failde,
 By spoils, by fyres, by warres, and tempests quailde.
 I pray you think, how mekle fairer shall
 Your happie name heirdowne be, when as all
 Your holy verse, great God alone shall sing,
 Since praise immortall commes of endles thing.

Je ſçay que vous direz que les antiques fables
Sont l'ame de vos chants, que ces contes diuers,
L'vn de l'autre naiſſans, peuuent rendre vos vers
Beaucoup plus que l'hiſtoire au vulgaire admirables.

Mais où peut on trouuer choſes plus merueilleuſes
Que celles de la Foy? hé! quel autre argument
Auec plus de teſmoins noſtre raiſon deſment,
Qui rabat plus l'orgueil des ames curieufes?

I'aymeroy mieux chanter la tour Affyrienne,
Que les trois monts Gregeois l'vn deſſus l'autre entez
Pour dethroſner du ciel les dieux eſpouuantez :
Et l'onde de Noé, que la Deucalienne.

I'aymeroy mieux chanter le changement ſubite
Du Monarque d'Affur, que de l'Arcadien,
Et le viure ſecond du ſaint Bethanien,
Que le recolement des membres d'Hippolite.

L'vn de plaire au lecteur tant ſeulement ſe meſſe,
Et l'autre ſeulement taſché de profiter :
Mais ſeu celuy là peut le laurier meriter,
Qui, ſage, le profit auec le plaifir meſſe.

Les plus beaux promenoirs ſont pres de la marine,
Et le nager plus ſuer pres des riuages verds :
Et le ſage Eſcriuain n'eſloigne dans ſes vers
Le ſçauoir du plaifir, le ieu de la doctrine.

Vous tiendrez donc ce rang en chantant choſes telles :
Car enſeignans autruy, vous meſmes apprendrez
La reigle de bien viure : et bien-heureux, rendez
Autant que leurs ſuiets, vos chanſons immortelles.

Laiſſez moy donc à part ces fables ſurannées :
Mes amis, laiſſez moy ceſt insolent Archer,
Qui les cœurs otieux peut ſeulement brefcher,
Et plus ne foyent par vous les Muſes profanées.

Mais las! en vain ie crie, en vain, las! ie m'enroue :
Car l'vn, pour ne ſe voir conuaincu par mon chant,
Va, comme vn fin aſpic, ſon oreille bouchant :
L'autre Epicurien, de mes diſcours ſe ioue.

L'autre pour quelque temps ſe range en mon eſchole
Mais le monde enchanteur ſoudain le me ſouſtraie,
Et ce diſcours ſacré, qui les ſeuils bons attrait,

I know that ye will fay, the auncient rables
 Decores yourfongs, and that* thofe dyuers fables, Metamor
phosis
 Ilk bred of other, doeth your verfes mak
 More loued then storyes by the vulgar pack.
 But where can there more wondrous things be found,
 'Then thofe of faith? ô fooles, what other ground,
 With witnes mo, our reasons quyte improues,
 Beats down our pryde, that curious questions moues?
 I had farr rather *Babell* tower forthfett, Ossa Pin-
dus, and
Olympus
 'Then the* thre *Grecian* hilles on others plett,
 To pull down gods afraide, and in my moode,
 Sing *Noës* rather then *Deucalions* floode.
 I had far rather fing the fuddaine change Nabuchad
nezer.
 Of *Affurs* monark, then of *Arcas* ftrange.
 Of the* *Bethaniens* holy fecond liuing, Lazarus.
 Then *Hippolitts* with members glewde reuiuing.
 To please the Reader is the ones whole cair,
 The vther for to proffite mair and mair :
 But only he of *Laurell* is conding,
 Who wyfely can with proffit, pleasure ming.
 The faireft walking on the Sea coaft bene,
 And fuireft swimming where the braes are grene :
 So, wyfe is he, who in his verfe can haue
 Skill mixt with pleasure, fports with doctrine graue.
 In finging kepe this order showen you heir,
 Then ye your felf, in teaching men fhall leir
 The rule of liuing well, and happely fhall
 Your fongs make, as your themf immortall all.
 No more into thofe oweryere lies delyte,
 My freinds, caft of that insolent archer quyte,
 Who only may the ydle harts fuppryfe :
 Prophane no more the *Mufes* with yon cries.
 But oh! in vaine, with crying am I horce :
 For lo, where one, noght caring my fongs force,
 Goes lyke a crafty fnaik, and floppes his eare :
 'The other godles, mocks and will not heare.
 Ane other at my fchoole abydes a fpace,
 While charming world withdrawe him from that place :
 So that difcourf, that maks good men reiofe,

Entre par vne aureille, et par l'autre s'envolle.

Las! ie n en voy pas vn qui ses deux yeux desfille
Du bandeau de Venus, et d vn profane fiel
De ses carmes dorez ne corrompe le miel :
Bien que de bons esprits nostre France fourmille.

Mais toy, mon cher mignon, que la Neufuaine saincte
Qui de Pegase boit le surjon perennel,
Fit le sacré sonneur du los de l'Eternel,
Mesme auant que de toy ta mere fust enceinte :

Bien que cest argument semble vne maigre lande,
Que les meilleurs esprits ont en friche laïsé,
Ne fois pour l auenir de ce trauail laïsé :
Car plus la glorie est rare, et tant plus elle est grande.

SALVSTE, ne perds cœur si tu vois que l Enuie
Aille abbayant, maligne, apres ton los naissant :
Ne crain que sous ses pieds elle aille tapissant
Les vers que tu feras, comme indignes de vie.

Ce monstre blece-honneur ressemble la Mastine,
Qui iappe contre ceux qui sont nouveau venus,
Pardonnant toutesfois à ceux qui sont cognus,
Curtoise enuers ceux cy, enuers ceux là mutine.

Ce monstre semble encor vne fameuse nue,
Que le naissant Vulcan presse de toutes pars,
Pour, noire, l estouffer de ses ondeux brouillars :
Mais où plus ce feu croist, plus elle diminue.

Sui donc (mon cher fouci) ce chemin non froyable
Que par ceux, que le ciel, liberal, veut benir,
Et ie iure qu en brief ie te feray tenir
Entre les bons esprits quelque rang honorable.

Cest par ce beau discours que la Muse celeste
Tenant vne couronne en sa pucelle main,
Attire à soy mon cœur d vn transport plus qu'humain,
Tant bien à ses doux mots elle adiouste vn doux geste.

Depuis, ce seul amour dans mes veines bouillonne:
Depuis, ce seul vent soufle és toiles de ma nef :
Bien-heureux si ie puis non poser sur mon chef,
Ains du doigt seulement toucher ceste couronne.

At one eare enters, and at the other goes.
 Alas, I fe not one vnvaill his ene
 From *Venus* vaill and gal prophane, that bene
 To golden honnied verfe, the only harme,
 Although our France with lofty fpirits doth swarme.
 But thou my deir one, whome the holy *Nyne*,
 Who yearly drinks *Pegafis* fountaine fyne,
 The great gods holy fongfter had receiued,
 Yea, euen before thy mother the conceiued.
 Albeit this subiect feame a barren ground,
 With quickeft fpreits left ley, as they it found,
 Irk not for that heirefter of thy paine,
 Thy glore by rairnes greater fhall remaine.
 O *Saluft*, lofe not heart, though pale Inuye
 Bark at thy praife increafing to the fkye,
 Feare not that she tread vnder foote thy verfe,
 As if they were vnworthie to reherfe.
 This monfter honnors-hurt is lyke the curr,
 That barks at frangers comming to the durr,
 But fparing alwaies thofe are to him knowin,
 To them moft gentle, to the others throwin.
 This monfter als is lyke a rauing cloude,
 Which threatnes alwayis kendling *Vulcan* loude.
 To fmore and drowne him, with her powring raine,
 Yet force of fyre repellis her power againe.
 Then follow furth, my fonne, that way unfeard,
 Of them whom in fre heauens gift hath appeard.
 And heare I sweare, thou shortly fhall refaue
 Some noble rank among good fpreits and graue.
 This heauenly *Mufe* by fuch difcourfes fair,
 Who in her Virgin hand a riche crowne bair :
 So drew to her my heart, fo farr transported,
 And with fwete grace, fo fwetely she exhorted :
 As fince that loue into my braines did brew,
 And fince that only wind my fhipfailles blew,
 I thought me bleft, if I might only clame
 To touche that crown, though not to weare the fame.

FINIS.

A N E M E T A P H O R I C A L L
I N V E N T I O N O F A T R A G E D I E
C A L L E D P H O E N I X.

A Colomne of 18 lynes seruing for a Preface
to the Tragedie ensuyng.

1 E l f 1
 2 E c h o 2
 3 h e l p, t h a t b o t h 3
 4 t o g e t h e r w e, 4
 5 S i n c e c a u s e t h e r e b e, m a y 5
 6 n o w l a m e n t w i t h t e a r i s, M y 6
 7 m u r n e f u l l y e a r i s. Y e f u r i e s a l s 7
 8 w i t h h i m, E u e n P l u t o g r i m, w h o d u e l l s 8
 9 i n d a r k, t h a t h e, S i n c e c h i e f w e s e h i m 9
 10 t o y o u a l l t h a t b e a r i s T h e s t y l e m e n f e a r i s o f 10
11 D i r æ, I r e q u e s t, E c h e g r e i z l i e g h e s t t h a t d w e l l s 11
12 b e n e t h t h e s e e, W i t h a l l y o n t h r e, w h o s e h a i r s a r e s n a i k s 12
12 f u l l b l e w, A n d a l l y o u r c r e w, a s s i s t m e i n t h i r t w a: 12
11 R e p e i t a n d s h a m y T r a g e d i e f u l l n e i r, T h e 11
10 c h a n c e f e l l h e i r. t h e n s e c u n d l i e i s b e s t, D e u i l l s 10
9 v o i d o f r e s t, y e m o u e a l l t h a t i t r e i d, 9
8 W i t h m e i n d e i d l y k e d o l o u r t h e m 8
7 t o g r i v', I t h e n w i l l l i v' i n 7
6 l e s s e r g r e i f t h e r e b j. K y t h 6
5 h e i r a n d t r y y o u r f o r c e 5
4 a y b e n t a n d q u i c k, 4
3 E x c e l l i n 3
2 s i k l i k e 2
1 i l l, 1
 a n d m u r n e w i t h
 m e. F r o m D e l p h o s s y n e
 A p o l l o c u m w i t h s p e i d: W h o s e
 s h i n i n g l i g h t m y c a i r s w i l l d i m i n d e i d.



⚙ The expansion of the
former Colomne.

E ·If Echo help, that both together w E
(S ince cause there be) may now lament with teari S
M y murnefull yearis. Ye furies als with hi M
E uen Pluto grim, who dwels in dark, that h E
S ince cheif we fe him to you all that beari S
T he style men fearis of Diræ: I requef T
E che greizlie ghest, that dwells beneth the S E
W ith all yon thre, whose hairis ar snaiks full ble W
A nd all your crew, affist me in thir tw A
R epeit and sha my Tragedie full nei R
T he chance fell heir. Then fecoundlie is bef T
D euils void of rest, ye moue all that it rei D
W ith me, indeid, lyke dolour thame to gri ·V
I then will liv', in leffer greif therebi I
K ythe heir and trie, your force ay bent and quic K
E xcell in sik lyke ill, and murne with m F
From Delphos fyne Apollo cum with speid,
VVhose shining light my cairis wil dim in deid.



P H O E N I X .



HE dyuers falls, that *Fortune* geuis
to men,
By turning ouer her quheill to their
annoy,
When I do heare them grudge,
although they ken
That old blind *Dame*, delytes to let
the ioy

Of all, suche is her vse, which dois conuoy
Her quheill by ges: not looking to the right,
Bot still turnis vp that pairt quhilk is too light.

Thus quhen I hard so many did complaine,
Some for the losse of worldly wealth and geir,
Some death of frends, quho can not come againe :
Some losse of health, which vnto all is deir,
Some losse of fame, which still with it dois beir
Ane greif to them, who mereits it indeid :
Yet for all thir appearis there some remeid.

For as to geir, lyke chance has made you want it,
Restore you may the same againe or mair.
For death of frends, although the same (I grant it)
Can nocht returne, yet men are not so rair,
Bot ye may get the lyke. For seiknes fair
Your health may come : or to ane better place
Ye must. For fame, good deids will mend disgrace.

Then, fra I saw (as I already told)
 How men complaind for things whilk might amend,
 How *David Lindsay* did complaine of old
 His *Papingo*, her death, and sudder end,
 Ane common foule, whose kinde be all is kend.
 All these hes moved me presently to tell
 Ane Tragedie, in griefs thir to excell.

For I complaine not of sic common cace,
 Which diuersly by diuers means dois fall :
 But I lament my *Phœnix* rare, whose race,
 Whose kynde, whose kin, whose offspring, they be all
 In her alone, whome I the *Phœnix* call.
 That fowle which only one at onis did liue,
 Not liues, alas ! though I her praise reviuē.

In *Arabie* cald *Fœlix* was she bredd
 This foule, excelling *Iris* farr in hew.
 Whose body whole, with purpoure was owercledd,
 Whose taill of coulour was celestiall blew,
 With skarlat pennis that through it mixed grew :
 Her craig was like the yallowe burnisht gold,
 And she her self thre hundreth yeare was old.

She might haue liued as long againe and mair,
 If fortune had not stayde dame *Nature's* will :
 Six hundreth yeares and fourtie was her scair,
 Which *Nature* ordained her for to fulfill.
 Her natiue foile she hanted euer still,
 Except to *Egypt* whiles she tooke her course,
 Wherethrough great *Nylus* down runs from his source.

Like as ane hors, when he is barded haile,
 An fethered pannach fet vpon his heid,
 Will make him feame more braue : Or to affaile
 The enemie, he that the troupes dois leid,
 Ane pannache on his healme will fet in deid :
 Euen so, had *Nature*, to decore her face ;
 Giuen her ane tap, for to augment her grace.

In quantitie, she dois resemble neare
 Vnto the foule of mightie *Ioue*, by name
 The *AEgle* calld : oft in the time of yeare,
 She vsde to soir, and flie through diuers realme,
 Out through the *Azure* skyes, whill she did shame
 The Sunne himself, her coulour was so bright,
 Till he abashit beholding such a light.

Thus whill she vsde to scum the skyes about,
 At last she chanced to fore out ower the see
 Calld *Mare Rubrum* : yet her course held out
 Whill that she past whole *Asie*. Syne to flie
 To *Europe* small she did resolue : To drie
 Her voyage out, at last she came in end
 Into this land, ane stranger heir vnkend.

Ilk man did maruell at her forme most rare
 The winter came, and storms cled all the feild :
 Which storms, the land of fruit and corne made bare,
 Then did she flie into an house for beild,
 VVhich from the storms might faue her as an sheild.
 There, in that house she first began to tame,
 I came, fyne tooke her furth out of the same.

Fra I her gat, yet none could gefs what fort
 Of foule she was, nor from what countrey cum :
 Nor I my self : except that be her port,
 And glistring hewes I knew the she was sum
 Rare stranger foule, which oft had vsde to scum
 Through diuers lands, delyting in her flight ;
 VVhich made vs see, so strange and rare a sight.

Whill at the last, I chanced to call to minde
 How that her nature, did resemble neir
 To that of *Phenix* which I red. Her kinde,
 Her hewe, her shape, did mak it plaine appeir,
 She was the same, which now was lighted heir.
 This made me to esteeme of her the more,
 Her name and rarenes did her so decore.

Thus being tamed, and throughly weill acquent.
 She took delyte (as she was wount before)
 VVhat tyme that *Titan* with his beames vpsprent,
 To take her flight, amongs the skyes to soire.
 Then came to her of fowlis, a woundrous store
 Of diuers kinds, some simple fowlis, some ill
 And rauening fowlis, whilks simple onis did kill.

And euen as they do swarme about their king
 The hunnie *Bees*, that works into the hyue :
 VVhen he delyts furth of the skepps to spring,
 Then all the leaue will follow him belyue,
 Syne to be nixt him biffelie they striue :
 So, all thir fowlis did follow her with beir,
 For loue of her, fowlis rauening did no deir.

Such was the loue, and reuerence they her bure,
 Ilk day whill euen, ay whill they shedd at night.
 Fra time it darkned, I was euer sure
 Of her returne, remaining whill the light,
 And *Phæbus* ryfing with his garland bright.
 Such was her trueth, fra time that she was tame,
 She, who in brightnes *Titans* self did shame.

By vse of this, and hanting it, at last
 She made the foules, fra time that I went out,
 Aboue my head to flie, and follow fast
 Her, who was chief and leader of the rout.
 When it grew lait, she made them flie, but doubt,
 Or feare, euen in the cloffe with her of will,
 Syne she her self, perkt in my chalmer still.

When as the countreys round about did heare
 Of this her byding in this countrey cold,
 Which not but hills, and darknes ay dois beare,
 (And for this cause was *Scotia* calld of old,)
 Her lyking here, when it was to them told,
 And how she greind not to go backe againe :
 The loue they bure her, turnd into disdaine.

Lo, here the fruits, whilks of *Inuy* dois breid,
 To harme them all, who vertue dois imbrace.
 Lo, here the fruits, from her whilks dois proceid,
 To harme them all, that be in better cace
 Then others be. So followed they the trace
 Of proud *Inuy*, thir countreyis lying neir,
 That such a foule, should lyke to tary heir.

Whill Fortoun at the last, not onely moued
Inuy to this, which could her not content,
 Whill that *Inuy*, did sease som foules that loued
 Her anis as femed: but yet their ill intent
 Kythed, when they saw all other foules still bent
 To follow her, misknowing them at all.
 This made them worke her vnderferued fall.

Thir were the rauening fowls, whome of I spak
 Before, the whilks (as I already shew)
 Was wount into her presence to hald bak
 Their crueltie, from simples ones, that flew
 With her, ay whill *Inuy* all feare withdrew.
 Thir ware, the *Rauin*, the *Stainchell*, and the *Gled*,
 With others kynds, whom in this malice bred.

Fra *Malice* thus was rooted be *Inuy*,
 In them as sone the awin effects did shaw.
 VVhich made them syne, vpon ane day, to spy
 And wait till that, as she was wount, she flaw
 Athort the skyes, syne did they neir her draw,
 Among the other fowlis of dyuers kynds,
 Although they ware farr dissonant in mynds.

For where as they ware wount her to obey,
 Their mynde farr contrair then did plaine appeare.
 For then they made her as a commoun prey
 To them, of whome she looked for no deare,
 They strake at her so bitterly, whill feare
 Stayde other fowlis to preis for to defend her
 From thir ingrate, whilks now had clene miskend her.

When she could find none other faue refuge
 From these their bitter straiks, she fled at last
 To me (as if she wolde wishe me to iudge
 The wrong they did her) yet they followed fast
 Till she betuix my leggs her selfe did cast.
 For sauing her from these, which her opprest,
 Whose hote pursute, her suffred not to rest.

Bot yet at all that ferved not for remeid,
 For noghttheles, they spaird her not a haire
 In stede of her, yea whyles they made to bleid
 My leggs: (so grew their malice mair and mair)
 Which made her both to rage and to dispair,
 Firft, that but cause they did her such dishort:
 Nixt, that she laked help in any fort.

Then hauing tane ane dry and wethered stra,
 In deip dispair, and in ane lofty rage
 She sprang vp heigh, outfleing euery fa:
 Syne to *Panchaia* came, to change her age
 Vpon *Apollos* altar, to asfwage
 With outward fyre her inward raging fyre:
 Which then was all her cheif and whole defyre.

Then being carefull, the event to know
 Of her, who homeward had returnde againe
 Where she was bred, where storms dois neuer blow,
 Nor bitter blasts, nor winter snows, nor raine,
 But fommer still: that countray doeth so staine
 All realmes in fairnes. There in haste I sent,
 Of her to know the yffew and event.

The messinger went there into sic haste,
 As could permit the farnes of the way,
 By crossing ower sa mony countreys waste
 Or he come there. Syne with a lytle stay
 Into that land, drew homeward euery day:
 In his returne, lyke diligence he shew
 As in his going there, through realmes anew.

Fra he returnd, then sone without delay
 I speared at him, (the certeantie to try)
 What word of *Phœnix* which was flown away?
 And if through all the lands he could her spy,
 Where through he went, I bad him not deny,
 But tell the trueth, yea whither good or ill
 Was come of her, to wit it was my will.

He tolde me then, how she flew bak againe,
 Where fra she came, and als he did receit,
 How in *Panchaia* toun, she did remaine
 On *Phæbus* alter, there for to compleit
 With *Thus* and *Myrrh*, and other odours sweet
 Of flowers of dyuers kyndes, and of *Incens*
 Her nest. With that he left me in suspens.

Till that I charged him no wayes for to spair,
 Bot presently to tell me out the rest.
 He tauld me then, How *Titans* garland thair
 Inflamde be heate, reflexing on her nest,
 The withered stra, which when she was opprest
 Heir be yon fowlis, she bure ay whill she came
 There, syne aboue her nest she laid the same.

And syne he tolde, how she had such desyre
 To burne her self, as she sat downe therein.
 Syne how the Sunne the withered stra did fyre,
 Which brunt her nest, her fethers, bones, and skin
 All turnd in ash. Whose end dois now begin
 My woes: her death maks lyfe to greif in me.
 She, whome I rew my eyes did euer see.

O deuills of darknes, contraire vnto light,
 In *Phæbus* fowle, how could ye get such place,
 Since ye are hated ay be *Phæbus* bright?
 For still is sene his light dois darknes chace.
 But yet ye went into that fowle, whose grace,
 As *Phæbus* fowle, yet ward the Sunne him sell.
 Her light his staind, whome in all light dois dwell.

And thou (ô *Phœnix*) why was thou so moued
 Thow foule of light, be enemies to thee,
 For to forget thy heauenly hewes, whilkis loued
 Were baith by men and fowlis that did them see?
 And fyne in hewe of ashe that they fould bee
 Conuerted all: and that thy goodly shape
 In *Chaos* fould, and nocht the fyre escape?

And thou (ô reuthles *Death*) fould thou deuore
 Her? who not only passed by all mens mynde
 All other fowlis in hew, and shape, but more
 In rarenes (sen there was none of her kynde
 But she alone) whome with thy stounds thou pynde:
 And at the last, hath perced her through the hart,
 But reuth or pitie, with thy mortall dart.

Yet worst of all, she liued not half her age.
 Why stayde thou *Tyme* at least, which all dois teare
 To worke with her? O what a cruel rage,
 To cut her off, before her threid did weare!
 VVherein all *Planets* keeps their course, that yeare
 It was not by the half yet worne away,
 Which fould with her haue ended on a day.

Then fra thir newis, in sorrows soped haill,
 Had made vs both a while to holde our peace,
 Then he began and said, Pairt of my taill
 Is yet vntolde, Lo here one of her race,
 Ane worm bred of her ashe: Though she, alace,
 (Said he) be brunt, this lacks but plumes and breath
 To be lyke her, new gendred by her death.

L'envoy.

Apollo then, who brunt with thy reflex
 Thine onely fowle, through loue that thou her bure,
 Although thy fowle, (whose name doth end in X)
 Thy burning heate on nowayes could indure,

But brunt thereby: Yet will I the procure,
 Late foe to *Phœnix*, now her freind to be:
 Reuiuing her by that which made her die.

Draw farr from heir, mount heigh vp through the air,
 To gar thy heat and beames be law and neir.
 That in this countrey, which is colde and bair,
 Thy gliftring beames als ardent may appeir
 As they were oft in *Arabie*: so heir
 Let them be now, to make ane *Phœnix* new
 Euen of this worme of *Phœnix* ashe which grew.

This if thow dois, as fure I hope thou shall,
 My tragedie a comike end will haue:
 Thy work thou hath begun, to end it all.
 Els made ane worme, to make her out the laue.
 This Epitaphe, then beis on *Phœnix* graue.

*Here lyeth, vvhome too euen be her death and end
 Apollo hath a longer lyfe her fend.*

F I N I S.





A PARAPHRASTICALL
TRANSLATION OVT OF
THE POETE LVCANE.

LVCANVS LIB.

QVINTO.

C*AE*faris an cursus vestræ sentire putatis
Damnum posse fugæ? Veluti si cuncta minentur
Flumina, quos miscent pelago, subducere fontes :
Non magis ablatis vnquam decreverit æquor,
Quam nunc crescit aquis. An vos momenta putatis
Vlla dedisse mihi?

If all the floods amongst them wold conclude
To stay their course from running in the see :
And by that means wold thinke for to delude
The *Ocean*, who sould impaired be,
As they supposde, beleuing if that he
Did lack their floods, he should decreesse him fell :
Yet if we like the veritie to wye.
It pairs him nothing : as I shall you tell.

For out of him they are augmented all,
 And most part creat, as ye shall persuaue :
 For when the Sunne doth souk the vapours small
 Forth of the seas, whilks them conteine and haue,
 A part in winde, in wete and raine the laue
 He render dois : which doth augment their strands.
 Of *Neptuns* woll a coate syne they him weaue,
 By hurling to him fast out ower the lands.

When all is done, do to him what they can
 None can persuaue that they do swell him mair.
 I put the case then that they neuer ran :
 Yet not theles that could him nowise pair :
 VVhat needs he then to count it, or to cair,
 Except their folies wold the more be shawin?
 Sen though they stay, it harmes him not a hair,
 What gain they, thogh they had their course withdrawen?

So euen siclike : Though subiects do coniure
 For to rebell against their Prince and King :
 By leauing him although they hope to smure
 That grace, wherewith God maks him for to ring,
 Though by his gifts he shaw him selfe bening,
 To help their need, and make them thereby gaine :
 Yet lack of them no harme to him doth bring,
 VVhen they to rewe their folie shalbe faine.

L'enuoy.

Then *Floods* runne on your wounted course of olde,
 Which God by Nature dewly hes prouyded :
 For though ye stay, as I before haue tolde,
 And cast in doubt which God hath els decayded :
 To be conioynde, by you to be deuyded :
 To kythe your spite, and do the *Depe* no skaith :
 Farre better were in others ilk confyded,
 Ye *Floods*, thou *Depe*, whilks were your dewties baith.

A N E S C H O R T
T R E A T I S E,
C O N T E I N I N G S O M E R E V L I S
and cautelis to be obferuit and
efchewit in Scottis
Poefie.



A Q V A D R A I N O F A L E X A N D R I N
V E R S E , D E C L A R I N G T O Q V H O M E T H E
Authour hes direēlit his labour.

*To ignorants obdurde, quhair vvilful errour lvis,
Nor zit to curious folks, quhilks carping dois. deieēt thee,
Nor zit to learned men, quha thinks thame onelie vvvis,
Bot to the docile bairns of knavvledge I direct thee.*

THE PREFACE TO

the Reader.



THE cause why (docile Reader) I haue not dedicat this short treatise to any particular personis, (as commounly workis vsis to be) is, that I esteeme all thais quha hes already some beginning of knowledge, with ane earnest desyre to atteyne to farther, alyke meit for the reading of this worke, or any vther, quhilk may help thame to the atteining to thair foirsaid desyre. Bot as to this work, quhilk is intitult, *The Reulis and cautelis to be obseruit and eschevit in Scottis Poesie*, ze may maruell paraventure, quhairfore I sould haue writtin in that mater, sen sa mony learnit men, baith of auld and of late hes already written thair of in dyuers and findry languages: I answer, That nocht-withstanding, I haue lykeways writtin of it, for twa caussis: The ane is, As for them that wrait of auld. lyke as the tyme is changeit sensyne, sa is the ordour of Poesie changeit. For then they obseruit not *Flooving*, nor eschewit not *Ryming in termes*, besydes findrie vther thingis, quhilk now we obserue, and eschew, and dois weil in sa doing: because that now, quhen the world is waxit auld, we haue all their opinionis in writ, quhilk were learned before our tyme, besydes our awin ingynis, quhair as they then did it onelie be thair awin ingynis, but help of any vther. Thairfore, quhat I speik of Poesie now, I speik of it, as being come to mannis age and perfectioun, quhair as then, it was bot in the infancie and chyldeheid. The vther cause is, That as for thame that hes written in it of late, there hes neuer ane of thame written in our language. For albeit findrie hes written of it in English, quhilk is lykest to our language, zit we differ from thame in findrie reulis of Poesie, as ze will find be experience. I haue lykeways omittit dyuers figures, quhilkis are necessare to be vsit in verse, for two caussis. The ane is, because they are vsit in all languages, and thairfore are spokin of be *Du Bellay*, and findrie vtheris, quha hes written

in this airt. Quhairfore gif I wrait of them also, it fould seme that I did bot repete that, quhilk they haue written, and zit not fa weil, as they haue done already. The vther cause is, that they are figures of Rhetorique and Dialectique, quhilkis airtis I professe nocht, and thairfore will apply to my selfe the counsale, quhilk *Apelles* gaue to the shoemaker, quhen he said to him, feing him find falt with the shankis of the Image of *Venus*, efter that he had found falt with the pantoun, *Ne futor ultra crepidam*.

I will also wish zow (docile Reidar) that or ze cummer zow with reiding thir reulis, ze may find in zour self sic a beginning of Nature, as ze may put in practife in zour verse many of thir foirsaidis preceptis, or euer ze sie them as they are heir fet down. For gif Nature be nocht the cheif worker in this airt, Reulis wilbe bot a band to Nature, and will mak zow within short space weary of the haille airt: quhair as, gif Nature be cheif, and bent to it, reulis will be ane help and staff to Nature. I will end heir, lest my preface be langer nor my purpose and haille mater following: wishing zow, docile Reidar, als gude succes and great proffeit by reiding this short treatise, as I tuke earnest and willing panis to blok it, as ze sie, for zour cause. Fare weil.

I Haue infert in the hinder end of this Treatise, maist kyndis of versis quhilks are not cuttit or brokin, bot alyke many feit in euerie lyne of the verse, and how they are commounly namit, with my opinioun for quhat subiectis ilk kynde of thir verse is meitest to be vsit.

TO know the quantitie of zour lang or short fete in they lynes, quhilk I haue put in the reule, quhilk teachis zow to know quhat is *Flowving*, I haue markit the lang fute with this mark,— and abone the heid of the shorte fute, I haue put this mark ∪ .

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SONNET OF THE AVTHOVR
TO THE READER.

SEn for zour saik I vryte upon zour airt,
 Apollo, Pan, and ze ô Musis nyne,
 And thou, ô Mercure, for to help thy pairt
 I do implore, sen thou be thy ingyne,
 Nixt efter Pan had found the quhiffill, syne
 Thou did persyte, that quhilke he bot espyit :
 And efter that made Argus for to tyne
 (quha kepit Io) all his vvindois by it.
 Concurre ze Gods, it can not be denyit :
 Sen in your airt of Poësie I vryte.
 Auld birds to learne by teiching it is tryit :
 Sic docens discans gif ze help to dyte.
 Then Reidar sie of nature thou haue pairt,
 Syne laikis thou nocht, bot heir to reid the airt.

SONNET DECIFRING
THE PERFYTE POETE.

ANe rype ingyne, ane quick and vvalkned vvitt,
 VVith sommair reasons, suddenie applyit,
 For euery purpose vsing reasons fitt,
 VVith skilfulnes, vvhere learning may be spyit,
 With pithie vvordis, for to expres zovv by it
 His full intention in his proper leid,
 The puritie quhairof, vveill hes he tryit :
 With memorie to keip quhat he dois reid,
 With skilfulnes and figuris, quhilks proceid
 From Rhetorique, vvith euerlasting fame,
 With vthers vvoundring, preassing vvith all speid
 For to atteine to merite sic a name.
 All thir into the persyte Poëte be.
 Goddis, grant I may obtaine the Laurell trie.

THE REVLIS AND CAV-
TELIS TO BE OBSERVIT
and eschewit in Scottis

Poesie.

CAP. I



FIRST, ze fall keip iust cullouris, quhairof the cautelis are thir.

That ze ryme nocht twyse in ane syllabe. As for exemple, that ze make not *proue* and *reproue* ryme together, nor *houe* for houeing on hors bak, and *behoue*.

That ze ryme ay to the hinneft lang syllabe, (with accent) in the lyne, suppose it be not the hinneft syllabe in the lyne, as *bakbyte zovv*, and *out flyte zovv*, It rymes in *byte* and *flyte*, because of the lenth of the syllabe, and accent being there, and not in *zovv*, howbeit it be the hinneft syllabe of ather of the lynis. Or *question* and *digestion*, It rymes in *ques* and *ges*, albeit they be bot the antepenult syllabis, and vther twa behind ilkane of thame.

Ze aucht alwayis to note, That as in thir foirfaidis, or the lyke wordis, it rymes in the hinneft lang syllabe in the lyne, althocht there be vther short syllabis behind it, Sa is the hinneft lang syllabe the hinneft fute, suppose there be vther short syllabis behind it, quhilkis are eatin vp in the pronounceing, and na wayis comptit as fete.

Ze man be war likewayis (except necessitie compell yow) with *Ryming in Ternis*, quhilk is to fay, that your first or hinneft word in the lyne, exceid not twa or thre syllabis at the maist, vsing thrie als feindill as ye can. The cause quhairfore ze fall not place a lang word first in the lyne, is, that all lang words hes ane

syllabe in them sa verie lang, as the lenth thairof eatis vp in the pronouncing euin the vther syllabes, quhilks ar placit lang in the same word, and thairfore spillis the flowing of that lyne. As for exemple, in this word, *Arabia*, the second syllable(*ra*) is sa lang, that it eatis vp in the prononcing [*a*] quhilk is the hinneft syllabe of the same word. Quhilk [*a*] althocht it be in a lang place, zit it kythis not sa, because of the great lenth of the preceding syllabe (*ra*). As to the cause quhy ze fall not put a lang word hinneft in the lyne, It is, because, that the lenth of the secound syllabe (*ra*) eating vp the lenth of the vther lang syllabe, [*a*] makis it to ferue bot as a taylor vnto it, together with the short syllabe preceding. And because this taylor nather feruis for cullour nor fute, as I spak before, it man be thairfore repetit in the nixt lyne ryming vnto it, as it is set doune in the first: quhilk makis, that ze will scarcely get many wordis to ryme vnto it, zea, nane at all will ze finde to ryme to findrie vther langer wordis. Thairfore cheifly be warre of inserting sic lang wordis hinneft in the lyne, for the cause quhilk I last allegit. Befydis that nather first nor last in the lyne, it keipis na *Flowring*. The reulis and cautelis quhairof are thir, as followis.

CHAP. II.



FIRST, ze man vnderstand that all syllabis are deuydit in thrie kindes: That is, some schort, some lang, and some indifferent. Be indifferent I meane, they quhilk ere ather lang or short, according as ze place thame.

The forme of placing syllabes in verse, is this. That zour first syllabe in the lyne be short, the second lang, the thrid short, the fourt lang, the fyft short, the sixt lang, and sa furth to the end of the lyne. Always tak heid, that the number of zour sete

in euery lyne be euin, and nocht odde : as four, fix, aucht, or ten : and not thrie, fyue, feuin, or nyne, except it be in broken verfe, quhilkis are out of reul and daylie inuentit be dyuers Poetis. Bot gif ze wald ask me the reulis, quhairby to knaw euerie ane of thir thre foirfaidis kyndis of fyllabes, I anfwer, Zour eare man be the onely iudge and difcerner thairof. And to proue this, I remit to the iudgement of the fame, quhilk of thir twa lynis following flowis beft,

o — u — u — u — u — u —
Into the Sea then Lucifer vpsprang.

o — u — u — u — u — u —
In the Sea then Lucifer to vpsprang.

I doubt not bot zour eare makkis zou easilie to perfaue, that the first lyne flowis weil, and the vther nathing at all. The reafoun is, becaufe the first lyne keips the reule abone written, to wit, the first fute fhort, the fecound lang, and fa furth, as I shewe before : quhair as the vther is direct contrair to the fame. Bot specially tak heid, quhen zour lyne is of fourtene, that zour *Seclioun* in aucht be a lang monofyllabe, or ellis the hinneft fyllabe of a word alwais being lang, as I faid before. The caufe quhy it man be ane of thir twa, is, for the Musique, becaufe that quhen zour lyne is ather of xiiij or xij fete, it wilbe drawin fa lang in the finging, as ze man rest in the middes of it, quhilk is the *Seclioun* : fa as, gif zour *Seclioun* be nocht ather a monofyllabe, or ellis the hinneft fyllabe of a word, as I faid before, bot the first fyllabe of a polyfyllabe, the Musique fall make zow fa to rest in the middes of that word, as it fall cut the ane half of the word fra the vther, and fa fall mak it feme twa different wordis, that is bot ane. This aucht onely to be obseruit in thir foirfaid lang lynis : for the shortnes of all shorter lynis, then thir before mentionat, is the caufe, that the Musique makis na rest in the middes of thame, and thairfore thir obseruationis

feruis nocht for thame. Onely tak heid, that the *Seclioun* in thame kythe something langer nor any vther feit in that lyne, except the fecound and the last, as I haue said before.

Ze man tak heid lykewayis, that zour langest lynis exceid nocte fourtene fete, and that zour shortest be nocht within foure.

Remember also to mak a *Seclioun* in the middes of euery lyne, quhether the lyne be lang or short. Be *Seclioun* I mean, that gif zour lyne be of fourtene fete, zour aucht fute, man not only be langer then the feuint, or vther short fete, but also langer nor any vther lang fete in the same lyne, except the fecound and the hinneft. Or gif your lyne be of twelf fete, zour *Seclioun* to be in the sext. Or gif of ten, zour *Seclioun* to be in the sext also. The cause quhy it is not in fyue, is, because fyue is odde, and euerie odde fute is short. Or gif your lyne be of aucht fete, zour *Seclioun* to be in the fourt. Gif of fex, in the fourt also. Gif of four, zour *Seclioun* to be in twa.

Ze aucht likewise be war with oft composing zour haill lynis of monosyllabis onely, (albeit our language haue sa many, as we can nocht weill eschewe it) because the maist pairt of thame are indifferent, and may be in short or lang place, as ze like. Some wordis of dyuers syllabis are likewayis indifferent, as

Thairfore, restore.

I thairfore, then.

In the first, *thairfore*, (*thair*) is short, and (*fore*) is lang: In the vther, (*thair*) is lang, and (*fore*) is short, and zit baith flowis alike weill. Bot thir indifferent wordis, composit of dyuers syllabes, are rare, suppose in monosyllabes, commoun. The cause then, quhy ane haill lyne aucht nocht to be composit of monosyllabes only, is, that they being for the maist pairt indifferent, nather the fecound, hinneft, nor *Seclioun*, will be langer nor the other lang fete in the same lyne.

Thairfore ze man place a word composit of dyuers syllabes, and not indifferent, ather in the secound, hinneft, or *Señtioun*, or in all thrie.

Ze man also tak heid, that quhen thare fallis any short syllabis efter the last lang syllabe in the lyne, that ze repeat thame in the lyne quhilk rymis to the vther, even as ze fet them downe in the first lyne: as for exemplill, ze man not fay

*Then feir nocht
Nor heir ocht.*

Bot

*Then feir nochr
Nor heir nocht.*

Repeting the same, *nocht*, in baith the lynis: because this syllabe, *nocht*, nather feruing for cullour nor fute, is bot a tayle to the lang fute preceding, and thairfore is repetit lykewayis in the nixt lyne, quhilk rymes vnto it, euin as it fet down in the first.

There is also a kynde of indifferent wordis, asweill as of syllabis, albeit few in nomber. The nature quhair-of is, that gif ze place thame in the begynning of a lyne, they are shorter be a fute, nor they are, gif ze place thame hinneft in the lyne, as

*Sen patience I man haue perforce.
I liue in hope vvith patience.*

Ze se there are bot aucht fete in ather of baith thir lynis aboue written. The cause quhair-of is, that *patience*, in the first lyne, in respect it is in the beginning thair-of, is bot of twa fete, and in the last lyne, of thrie, in respect it is the hinneft word of that lyne. To knaw and discerne thir kynde of wordis from vtheris, zour eare man be the onely iudge, as of all the vther parts of *Flowing*, the verie twicheftane quhair-of is Musique.

I haue teachit zow now shortly the reulis of *Ryming*,

Fete, and *Flowring*. There restis yet to teache zow the wordis, sentences, and phrasis necessair for a Poete to vse in his verse, quhilk I haue set doun in reulis, as efter followis.

CHAP. III.



First, that in quhatsumeuer ze put in verse, ze put in na wordis, ather *metri causa*, or zit, for filling furth the number of the fete, bot that they be all fa necessaire, as ze sould be constrainit to vse thame, in cace ze were speiking the same purpose in prose. And thairfore that zour wordis appeare to haue cum out willingly, and by nature, and not to haue bene thrawn out constrainedly, be compulsoun.

That ze eschew to insert in zour verse, a lang rable of mennis names, or names of tounis, or sik vther names. Because it is hard to mak many lang names all placit together, to flow weill. Thairfore quhen that fallis out in zour purpose, ze fall ather put bot twa or thrie of thame in euerie lyne, mixing vther wordis amang thame, or ellis specifie bot twa or thre of them at all, saying (*With the laif of that race*) or (*With the rest in thay pairtis*), or sic vther lyke wordis: as for example,

*Out through his cairt, quhair Eous vvas eik
VWith other thre, quhilk Phaëton had drawin.*

Ze sie thair is bot ane name there specifit, to serue for vther thrie of that forte.

Ze man also take heid to frame zour wordis and sentencis according to the mater: As in Flyting and Inuectiues, zour wordis to be cuttit short, and hurland ouer heuch. For thais quhilkis are cuttit short, I meane be sic wordis as thir,

Iis neir cair,

for

I fall neuer cair, gif your subiect were of loue, or tragedies. Because in thame your words man be drawin lang, quhilkis in Flyting man be short.

Ze man lykewayis tak heid, the ze waill your wordis according to the purpose : As, in ane heich and learnt purpose, to vse heich, pithie, and learnt wordis.

Gif your purpose be of loue, To vse commoun language, with some passionate wordis.

Gif your purpose be of tragicall materis, To vse lamentable wordis, with some heich, as rauishit in admiratioun.

Gif your purpose be of landwart effairis, To vse corruptit and vplandis wordis. ✓

And finally, quhatsumeuer be your subiect, to vse *vocabula artis*, quhairby ze may the mair viuelie represent that persoun, quhais pairt ze paint out.

This is likewayis neidfull to be vsit in sentences, als weill as in wordis. As gif your subiect be heich and learnt, to vse learnt and infallible reasonis, prouin be necessities.

Gif your subiect be of loue, To vse wilfull reasonis, proceding rather from passioun, nor reasoun.

Gif your subiect be of landwart effairis, To vse sklender reasonis, mixt with grosse ignorance, nather keiping forme nor ordour. And sa furth, euer framing your reasonis, according to the qualitie of your subiect.

Let all your verse be *Literall*, sa far as may be, quhatsumeuer kynde they be of, bot speciallie *Tumbling* verse for flyting. Be *Literall* I meane, that the maist pairt of your lyne, fall rynne vpon a letter, as this tumbling lyne rynnys vpon F. ✓

Fetchin fude for to feid it fast furth of the Farie.

Ze man obserue that thir *Tumbling* verse flowis not on that fassoun, as vtheris dois. For all vtheris keipis the reule quhilk I gaue before, To wit, the first fute short the secound lang, and sa furth. Quhair as thir

hes twa short, and ane lang through all the lyne, quhen they keip ordour: albeit the maist pairt of thame be out of ordour, and keipis na kynde nor reule of *Flowving*, and for that cause are callit *Tumbling* verse: except the short lynis of aucht in the hinder end of the verse, the quhilk flowis as vther verses dois, as ze will find in the hinder end of this buke, quhair I gaue exemple of findrie kyndis of versis.

CHAP. IIII.



MARK also thrie speciall ornamentis to verse, quhilkis are, *Comparisons*, *Epithetis*, and *Prouerbis*.

As for *Comparisons*, take heid that they be sa proper for the subiect, that nather they be ouer bas, gif your subiect be heich, for then fould your subiect [*Comparisoun*?] disgrace your *Comparisoun* [subiect?], nather your *Comparisoun* be heich quhen your subiect is basse, for then fall your *Comparisoun* [subiect?] disgrace your subiect [*Comparisoun*?]. Bot let sic a mutuall correspondence and similitude be betwix them, as it may appeare to be a meit *Comparisoun* for sic a subiect, and sa fall they ilkane decore vther.

As for *Epithetis*, It is to descryue brieflie, *en passant*, the naturall of euerie thing ze speik of, be adding the proper adiectiue vnto it, quhair of there are twa fassons. The ane is, to descryue it, be making, a corruptit worde, composit of twa dyuers simple wordis, as

Apollo gyde-Sunne

The vther fasson, is, be *Circumlocution*, as

Apollo reular of the Sunne.

I esteme this last fassoun best, Because it expressis the authoris meaning als weill as the vther, and zit makis na corruptit wordis, as the vther dois.

As for the *Prouerbis*, they man be proper for the subiect, to beautifè it, chosin in the same forme as the *Comparisoun*.

CHAP V.



T is also meit, for the better decoratioun of the verse to vse sumtyme the figure of Repetitioun, as

Quhylis ioy rang,
Quhylis noy rang. &c.

Ze sie this word *quhylis* is repetit heir. This forme of repetitioun sometyme vsit, decoris the verse very mekle. zea quhen it cummis to purpose, it will be cumly to repete sic a word aucht or nyne tymes in a verse.

CHAP. VI.

ZE man also be warre with composing any thing in the same maner, as hes bene ower oft vsit of before. As in speciall, gif ze speik of loue, be warre ze descryue zour *Loues* makdome, or her fairnes. And siclyke that ze descryue not the morning, and ryfing of the Sunne, in the Preface of zour verse: for thir thingis are sa oft and dyuerslie writtin vpon be Poëtis already, that gif ze do the lyke, it will appeare, ze bot imitate, and that it cummis not of zour awin *Inuentioun*, quhilk is ane of the cheif properteis of ane Poete. Thairfore gif zour subiect be to prayse zour *Loue*, ze fall rather prayse hir vther qualiteis, nor her fairnes, or hir shaip: or ellis ze fall speik some lytill thing of it, and syne say, that zour wittis are sa smal, and zour vtterance sa barren, that ze can not discryue any part of hir worthelie: remitting always to the Reider, to iudge of hir, in respect sho matches, or rather excellis *Venus*, or any woman, quhome to it fall please zow to compaire her. Bot gif zour subiect be sic, as ze man speik some thing of the morning, or Sunne ryfing, tak heid, that quhat name ze giue to the Sunne, the Mone, or vther starris, the ane tyme, gif ze happin to wryte

thairof another tyme, to change thair names. As gif ze call the Sunne *Titan*, at a tyme, to call him *Phæbus* or *Apollo* the vther tyme, and ficlyke the Mone, and vther Planettis.

CHAP. VII.

BOT fen *Inuention*, is ane of the cheif vertewis in a Poete, it is best that ze inuent zour awin subiect, zour self, and not to compose of sene subiectis. Especially, translating any thing out of vther language, quhilk doing, ze not onely essay not zour awin ingyne of *Inuention*, bot be the same meanes, ze are bound, as to a staik, to follow that buikis phrasis, quhilk ze translate.

Ze man also be war of wryting any thing of materis of commoun weill, or vther sic graue sene subiectis (except Metaphorically, of manifest treuth opinly knawin, zit nochtwithstanding vsing it very seindil) because nocht onely ze essay nocht zour awin *Inuention*, as I spak before, bot lykewayis they are to graue materis, for a Poet to mell in. Bot because ze can not haue the *Inuention*, except it come of Nature, I remit it thairvnto, as the cheif cause, not onely of *Inuention*, bot also of all the vther pairtis of Poesie. For airt is onely bot ane help and a remembraunce to Nature, as I shewe zow in the Preface.

CHAP. VIII. tuiching the kyndis of versis, mentionat in the Preface.

FIRST, there is ryme quhilk feruis onely for lang historeis, and zit are nocht verse As for exemple,

*In Maii vvhent that the bliffesfull Phæbus bricht,
The lamp of ioy, the heauens gemme of licht,
The goldin cairt, and the etheriall King,
With purpoure face in Orient dois spring,
Maist angel-lyke ascending in his sphere,
And birds vwith all thair heauenlie voces cleare*

*Dois mak a fveit and heauinly harmony,
And fragrant flours dois spring vp lustely:
Into this season fveiteft of delyte,
To vwalk I had a lusty appetyte.*

And fa furth.

¶ For the description of Heroique actis, Martiall and knightly faittis of armes, vse this kynde of verse following, callit *Heroicall*, As

*Meik mundane mirroure, myrrie and modest,
Blyth, kynde, and courtes, comelie, clene, and chest,
To all exemple for thy honestie,
As richest rose, or rubie, by the rest,
VVith graces graue, and gesture maist digest,
Ay to thy honnour alwayis hauing eye.
Were fasons ftiemde, they nicht be found in the:
Of blifings all, be blyth, thovv hes the best,
With euerie berne belouit for to be.*

¶ For any heich and graue subiectis, specially drawin out of learnit authouris, vse this kynde of verse following, callit *Ballat Royal*, as

*That nicht he ceist, and vvent to bed, bot greind
Zit fast for day, and thocht the nicht to lang:
At last Diana down her head reclind,
Into the sea. Then Lucifer vpsprang,
Auroras post, vvhome sho did fend amang
The Ieittie cludds, for to foretell ane hour,
Before sho slay her tears, quhilk Ouide sang
Fell for her loue, quhilk turnit in a flour.*

¶ For tragicall materis, complaintis, or testamentis, vse this kynde of verse following, callit *Troilus* verse, as

*To thee Echo, and thovv to me agane,
In the desert, amangs the vvoods and vvells,
Quhair destinie hes bound the to remane,
But company, vvithin the firths and fells,
Let vs complein, vvith vvofull zoutts and zells,*

*A shaft, a shotter, that our harts hes flane:
To thee Echo, and thovv to me agane.*

¶ For flyting, or Inuectiues, vse this kynde of verse following, callit *Rouncefallis*, or *Tumbling* verse.

*In the hinder end of haruest vpon Alhallowe ene,
Quhen our gude nichtbors rydis (nou gif I reid richt)
Some bucklit on a benevood, and some on a bene,
Ay trott and into troupes fra the trvylicht:
Some sadland a sho ape, all grathed into grene:
Some hotche and on a hemp stalk, hovand on a heicht.
The king of Fary vwith the Court of the Elf quene,
VWith many elrage Incubus rydand that nicht:
There ane elf on ane ape ane vnsell begat:
Besyde a pot baith auld and vvorne,
This bratshard in ane bus vvas borne:
They fand a monster on the morne,
VVar facit nor a Cat.*

¶ For compendious praying of any bukes, or the authouris thair of, or ony argumentis of vther historeis, quhair fundrie sentences, and change of purposis are requyrit, vse *Sonet* verse, of fourtene lynis, and ten sete in euery lyne. The exemple quhair of, I neid nocht to shaw zow, in respect I haue set doun twa in the beginning of this treatise.

¶ In materis of loue, vse this kynde of verse, quhilk we call *Commoun* verse, as

*Quhais ansvver made thame nocht sa glaid
That they sould thus the victors be,
As euen the ansvver quhilk I haid
Did greatly ioy aud confort me:
Quhen lo, this spak Apollo myne,
All that thou seikis, it fall be thyne.*

¶ Lyke verse of ten sete, as this foirfaid is of aucht, ze may vse lykewayis in loue materis: as also all kyndis of cuttit and brokin verse, quhair of new formes are daylie inuentit according to the Poëtes pleasour, as

*Quha vvald haue tyrde to heir that tone,
 Quhilk birds corroborat ay abone*

Throuch schouting of the Larkis?

They sprang fa heich into the skyes

Quhill Cupide vvalknis vwith the cryis:

Of Naturis chapell Clarkis.

Then leauing all the Heauins aboue

He lichtet on the eard.

Lo! hovv that lytill God of loue.

Before me then appeard,

So myld-lyke

VWith hovv thre quarters skant

And chylid-lyke

So moylie

He lukit lyke a Sant.

And coylie

And fa furth.

¶ This onely kynde of brokin verse abonewrittin, man of necessitie, in thir last short fete, as *so moylie and coylie*, haue bot twa fete and a taylor ilkan of thame, as ze sie, to gar the cullour and ryme be in the penult syllabe.

¶ And of thir foirfaidis kyndes of ballatis of hail verse, and not cuttit or brokin as this last is, gif ze lyke to put ane owerword till ony of thame, as making the last lyne of the first verse, to be the last lyne of euerie vther verse in that ballat, will fet weill for loue materis. Bot besydis thir kyndes of brokin or cuttit verse, quhilks ar inuentit daylie be Poetis, as I shewe before, there are findrie kyndes of hail verse, with all thair lynis alyke lang, quhilk I haue heir omittit, and tane bot onelie thir few kyndes abone spicifeit

as the best, quhilk may be ap-
 plyit to ony kynde of
 subiect,

bot rather to thir, quhair of
 I haue spokin before.

 *

THE CIIII. PSALME,
TRANSLATED OVT OF
TREMELLIVS.

PSALME CIIII.

O Lord inspyre my spreit and pen, to praise
Thy Name, whose greatnes farr surpassis all :
That syne, I may thy gloir and honour blaife,
Which cleithis the ouer : about the lyke a wall
The light remainis. O thow, whose charge and call
Made Heauens lyke courtenis for to spred abreid,
Who bowed the waters so, as serue they shall
For cristall syling ouer thy house to gleid.

Who walks vpon the wings of restles winde,
Who of the clouds his chariot made, euen he,
Who in his presence still the spreits doeth find,
Ay ready to fulfill ilk iust decrie
Of his, whose seruants fyre and flammis they be.
Who set the earth on her fundations sure,
So as her brangling none shall euer see :
Who at thy charge the deip vpon her bure.

So, as the very tops of mountains hie
Be fluidis were onis ouerflowed at thy command,
Ay whill thy thundring voice sone made them flie
Ower hiddeous hills and howes, till nocht but sand
Was left behind, syne with thy mightie hand
Thow limits made vnto the roing deip.
So shall she neuer droun againe the land,
But brek her wawes on rockis, her mairch to keip.

Thir are thy workis, who maid the strands to breid,
Syne rinn among the hills from fountains cleir,

Whairto wyld Affes oft dois rinn with speid,
 With vther beafts to drinke. Hard by we heir
 The chirping birds among the leaues, with beir
 To fing, whil all the rocks about rebounde.
 A woundrous worke, that thow, ô Father deir,
 Maks throts fo small yeild furth fo greate a founde !

O thow who from thy palace oft letts fall
 (For to refresh the hills) thy blessed raine :
 Who with thy works mainteins the earth and all :
 Who maks to grow the herbs and grafs to gaine.
 The herbs for foode to man, grafs dois remaine
 For food to horfe, and cattell of all kynde.
 Thow caufest them not pull at it in vaine,
 But be thair foode. fuch is thy will and mynde.

Who dois reioyfe the hart of man with wyne,
 And who with oyle his face maks cleir and bright,
 And who with foode his ftomack ftrenghnes fyne,
 Who nurifhes the very treis aright.
 The *Cedars* evin of *Liban* tall and wight
 He planted hath, where birds do bigg their neft.
 He maid the *Firr* treis of a woundrous hight,
 Where *Storks* dois mak thair dwelling place, and reft.

Thow made the barren hills, wylde goats refuge.
 Thow maid the rocks, a refidence and reft
 For *Alpin* ratts, where they doe liue and ludge.
 Thow maid the *Moone*, her courfe, as thou thocht beft.
 Thow maid the *Sunne* in tyme go to, that left
 He ftill fould fhynne, then night fould neuer come.
 But thow in ordour all things hes fo drest,
 Some beafts for day, for night are alfo fome.

For Lyons young at night beginnis to raire,
 And from their denns to craue of God fome pray :
 Then in the morning, gone is all their caire,
 And homeward to their caues rinnis faft, fra day
 Beginne to kythe, the Sunne dois fo them fray.

Then man gois furth, fra tyme the Sunne dois ryfe.
 And whill the euening he remanis away
 At lefume labour, where his liuing lyes.

How large and mightie are thy workis, ô Lord!
 And with what wisedome are they wrought, but faile.
 The earths great fulnes, of thy gifts recorde
 Dois beare: Heirot the Seas (which dyuers skaile
 Of fish contenis) dois witnes beare: Ilk faile
 Of dyuers ships vpon the swelling wawes
 Dois testifie, as dois the monstros whaile,
 Who frayis all fishes with his ravening Iawes.

All thir (ô Lord) yea all this woundrous heape
 Of liuing things, in season craues their fill
 Of foode from thee. Thow giuing, Lord, they reape:
 Thy open hand with gude things fills them still
 When so thow list: but contrar, when thow will
 Withdraw thy face, then are they troubled fair,
 Their breath by thee receavd, fone dois them kill:
 Syne they returne into their ashes bair.

But notwithstanding, Father deare, in cace
 Thow breath on them againe, then they revieue.
 In short, thow dois, ô Lord, renewe the face
 Of all the earth, and all that in it liue.
 Therefore immortall praise to him we giue:
 Let him reioyse into his works he maid,
 Whose looke and touche, so hills and earth dois greiue.
 As earth dois tremble, mountains reikis, afraid.

To *Iehoua* I all my lyfe shall sing,
 To found his Name I euer still shall cair:
 It shall be sweit my thinking on that King:
 In him I shall be glaid for euer mair:
 O let the wicked be into no whair
 In earth. O let the sinfull be destroyde.
 Blessè him my foule who name *Iehoua* bair:
 O blessè him now with notts that are enioydc.

Hallelu-iah.



ANE SCHORT POEME
OF TYME.

* * *
*

AS I was panfing in a morning, aire,
And could not fleip, nor nawayis take me rest,
Furth for to walk, the morning was fa faire,
Athort the feilds, it femed to me the best.
The *East* was cleare, whereby belyue I gest
That fyrie *Titan* cumming was in fight,
Obscuring chaft *Diana* by his light.

VWho by his ryfing in the *Azure* skyes,
Did dewlie helpe all thame on earth do dwell.
The balmie dew through birning drouth he dryis,
VWhich made the foile to fauour sweit and smell,
By dewe that on the night before downe fell,
VWhich then was foukit by the *Delphienns* heit
Vp in the aire: it was fo light and weit.

Whose hie afcending in his purpoure Sphere
Prouoked all from *Morpheus* to flee:
As beafts to feid, and birds to fing with beir,
Men to their labour, biffie as the Bee:
Yet ydle men deuyfing did I fee.
How for to dryue the tyme that did them irk,
By findrie paflymes, quhill that it grew mirk.

Then woundred I to see them feik a wyle,
 So willinglie the precious tyme to tyme :
 And how they did them selfis so farr begyle,
 To fashe of tyme, which of it selfe is fyne.
 Fra tyme be past, to call it bakwart fyne
 Is bot in vaine : therefore men sould be warr,
 To sleuth the tyme that flees fra them so farr.

For what hath man bot tyme into this lyfe,
 Which giues him dayis his God aright to know :
 Wherefore then sould we be at sic a stryfe,
 So spedelie our selfis for to withdraw
 Euin from the tyme, which is on nowayes slaw
 To flie from vs, suppose we fled it nocht?
 More wyse we were, if we the tyme had soght.

Bot sen that tyme is sic a precious thing,
 I wald we sould bestow it into that
 Which were most pleasour to our heauenly King.
 Flee ydilteth, which is the greatest lat.
 Bot sen that death to all is destinat,
 Let vs imploy that time that God hath send vs,
 In doing weill, that good men may commend vs.

Hæc quoque perficiat, quod perficit omnia, Tempus.

FINIS.

A TABLE OF SOME OBSCVRE
WORDIS WITH THEIR SIG-
nifications, efter the ordour of
the Alphabet.

* *
*

VVordis

Significations

<i>Ammon</i>	Iupiter Ammon.
<i>Ande</i>	A village besyde <i>Mantua</i> where <i>Virgill</i> was borne.
<i>Alexandria</i>	A famous citie in <i>Egypt</i> , where was the notable librarie gathered by <i>Ptolomeus Phila-</i> <i>delphus</i> .

B

<i>Bethaniens</i> second liuing	<i>Lazarus</i> of <i>Bethania</i> , who was reuiued be Christ, reid <i>Iohn</i> 11 Chap.
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C

<i>Castalia</i> <i>Parnassus</i> .	A well at the fute of the hill
<i>Celæno</i>	The cheif of the <i>Harpyes</i> , a kynde of monsters with wingis and womens faces, whome the Poets feynzeis to represent theuis.
<i>Cerberus</i>	The thrie headed porter of hell.
<i>Cimmerien</i> night	Drevin from a kynd of people in the East, called <i>Cimmerij</i> , who are great theuis, and dwellis in dark caues, and therefore, sleeping in sinne, is called <i>Cimmerien</i> night.
<i>Circuler daunce</i>	The round motionis of the Pla- nets, and of their heauens, applyed to feuin sındrie metallis.
<i>Clio</i>	One of the <i>Muses</i> .
<i>Cypris</i>	The dwelling place of <i>Venus</i> ,
	tearming <i>continens pro contento</i> .
<i>Cyprian torche</i>	Louis darte.

D

- Delphien Songs* Poemes, and verses, drawn from the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*.
- Diræ* Thre furies of hell, *Alecto*, *Megera*, and *Tesiphone*.
- Dodon* A citie of the kingdome of *Epirus*, besydes the which, there was a wood and a Temple therein, consecrated to *Iupiter*.

E

- Electre* A metal, fowre parts gold and fift part siluer.
- Elise field* In Latin *Campi Elisij*, a ioy full place in hell, where as the Poets feinzeis all the happie spreits do remaine.
- Esculape* A mediciner, after made a god.

G

- Greatest thunders* *Iupiter* (as the Poets feinzeis) had two thunders, whereof he sent the greatest vpon the Gyants, who contemned him.

H

- (*Hermes*) An AEGiptian *Philosopher* soone after the tyme of *Moyfes*, confessed in his Dialogues one onely God to be Creator of all things, and graunted the errours of his forefathers, who brought in the superstitious worshipping of Idoles.
- Hippolyte* After his members were drawin in sunder by fowre hores, *Esculapius* at *Neptuns* request, glewed them together, and reuiued him.

M

- Mausole tombe* One of the seauin miracles which *Artemise* caused to be builded for her husband by *Timotheus*, *Briace*, *Scope*, and fundrie other workmen.

Mein A riuer in *Almanie*.

Sein A riuer in *Fraunce*.

The Authors meaning of these two riuers is, that the originall of the *Almanis* came first out of *Fraunce*, contrarie to the vulgar opinion.

N

Nynevoiced mouth The nyne *Muses*, whereof *Vranie* was one.

P

Panchaia A towne in the East, wherein, it is written, the *Phenix* burnis her selfe vpon *Apollo's* altar.

Pinde or *Pindus* A hill consecrate to *Apollo*, and the *Muses*.

Phæmonoe A woman who pronounced the Oracles of *Apollo*.

S

Seamans starres The feauen starres.

Semele Mother of *Bacchus*, who being deceiued by *Iuno*, made *Iupiter* come to her in his least thunder, which neuertheles consumde her.

Syrenes Taken heir for littill gray birdes of *Canaria*.

T

Thais A common harlot of *Alexandria*.

Triton A monster in the sea, shapen like a man.

Turnus sister Named *Iuturna*, a goddesse of the water, who in the shape of her brothers waggoner led his chariot through the fields, ay till *Alecto* appeared vnto them in the shape of an Howlet.

V

Vranie The heauenly Muse.

FINIS.

Sonnet of the Authour.

THE facound Greke, *Demosthenes* by name,
 His toung was ones into his youth so flow,
 As evin that airt, which flourish made his fame,
 He scarce could name it for a tyme, ze know. Rhetor
rique.
 So of small seidis the *Liban* Cedres grow :
 So of an Egg the *Egle* doeth proceed :
 From fountains small great *Nilus* flood doeth flow :
 Evin so of rawnis do mightie fishes breid.
 Therefore, good Reader, when as thow dois reid
 These my first fructis, dispyse them not at all.
 Who watts, both these may able be indeid
 Of syner Poemis the begynning small.
 Then, rather loaue my meaning and my panis,
 Then lak my dull ingyne and blunted branis.

FINIS.

I HAVE INSERT FOR
THE FILLING OVT OF THIR
VACAND PAGEIS, THE VERIE
wordis of *Plinius* vpon the
Phœnix,
as followis

*

C. PLINII

Nat. Hist. Lib. Decimi, Cap. 2.
De Phœnice.

**
*



Ethiopes atque Indi, discolors maximè et inenarrabiles ferunt aues, et ante omnes nobilem Arabia Phœnicem: haud scio an fabulosè, vnum in toto orbe, nec visum magnopere. Aquilæ narratur magnitudine, auri fulgore circa colla, cætera purpureus, cæruleam roseis caudam pennis distinguentibus, cristis faciem, capûtque plumeo apice cohonestante. Primus atque diligentissimus togatorum de eo prodidit Manilius, Senator ille, maximis nobilis doctrinis doctore nullo: neminem extitisse qui viderit vescentem: sacrum in Arabia Soli esse, viuere annis DCLX. fenescentem, casta thurisque furculis construere nidum, replere odoribus, et superemori. Ex ossibus deinde et memedullis eius nasci primo ceuermiculum: inde fieri pullum; principiôque iusta funeri priori reddere, et totum deferre nidum prope Panchaiam in Solis vrbem, et in ara ibi deponere. Cum huius alitis vita magni conuer-

tionem ann fieri prodit idem Manilius, iterumque significationes tempestatum et siderum easdem reuerti. Hoc autem circa meridiem incipere, quo die signum Arietis Sol intrauerit. Et fuisse eius conuersionis annum prodente se P. Licinio, M. Cornelio Consulibus. Cornelius Valerianus Phœnicem deuolasse in Ægyptum tradit, Q. Plautio, Sex. Papinio Coss. Allatus est et in urbem Claudij Principis Censura, anno urbis DCCC, et in comitio propositus, quod actus testatum est, sed quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret.

FINIS.

*I helped my self also in my Tragedie thair of, with
the Phœnix of Laclantius Firmianus, with
Gesnerus de Auibus, and dyuers others,
bot I haue onely insert thir fore-
said words of Plinius,
Because I follow
him maist in
my Tra-
gedie.
Fareweill.*



ON THE INTRODUCTION AND EARLY USE OF TOBACCO
IN ENGLAND.

For a discussion as to the knowledge and use of Tobacco previous to the Discovery of America : see *The Athenæum* for 27 June and 1 August 1857.

I. 1577. The earliest detailed account of the herb Tobacco in the English language I believe to be, "*Joyfull nerves oute of the newe founde worlde* Englished by JOHN FRAMPTON Marchant." London, 1577. A work reprinted in 1580, 1596, &c.

In his Dedication—dated London, 1 Oct. 1577—to 'Master Edwarde Dier Esquire,' Frampton informs us :

Retourning right worshipfull, home into Englande oute of Spaine, and novv not pressed vvith the former toiles of my old trade, I to passe the tyme to some benefite of my countrie, and to auoyde idlenesse : tooke in hande to translate out of Spanishe into Englishe, the thre bookes of Doctour Monardes of Seuill, the learned Phisition, treatyng of the singuler and rare vertues of certaine Hearbes, Trees, Oyles, Plantes, Stones, and Drugges of the Weste Indies

NICHOLAS MONARDES had first published his account of Tobacco in the Second Part of his *De las Cofas que traen de neustras Indias Occidentales que siruen en medicina*. Published at Seville in 1571, and republished there, all three parts together, in 1574.

The following extracts are taken from the second edition of *Joyfull nerves*, 1580: which Frampton describes as "Newly corrected as by conference with the olde copies may appeare." Monardes tells us—

This Hearbe which commonly is called *Tabaco*, is an Hearbe of much antiquitie, and known amongst the Indians, and in especially among them of the new Spayne, and after that those Countries were gotten by our Spaniardes, beyng taught of the Indians, they did profite themselues with those things, in the wounds which they receiued in their Warres, healing themselues therewith to the great benefite.

Within these few yeeres [Monardes is writing in 1571] there hath beene brought into Spayne of it, more to adornate Gardens with the fairenesse thereof, and to geue a pleasant sight, than that it was thought to haue the maruelous medicinable vertues, which it hath, but nowe wee doe vse it more for his vertues, than for his fairenesse. For surely they are such which doe bring admiration. . . .

The proper name of it amongst the Indians is *Picielt*, for the name of *Tabaco* is geuen to it by our Spainardes, by reason of an Islande that is named *Tabaco*. . . .

One of the meruelles of this Hearbe, and that which bringeth most admiration, is, the maner howe the Priestes of the Indias did vse it, which was in this manner: when there was emongest the Indians any maner of businesse, of greate importaunce, in the which the chiefe gentlemen called *Casiques*, or any of the principall people of the countrie, had necessitie to consult with their Priestes, in any businesse of importance; they went and propounded their matter to their chiefe Priest, forthwith in their presence, he tooke certaine leaues of the *Tabaco*, and cast them into the fire, and did receiue the smoke of them at his mouth, and at his nose with a Cane,

and in taking of it, hee fell downe vpon the ground, as a Dead man, and remaying so, according to the quantitie of the smoke that he had taken, and when the hearbe had done his worke, he did reuiue and awake, and gaue them their answeres, according to the visions, and illusions which hee sawe, whiles he was rapte in the same manner, and he did interprete to them, as to him seemed best, or as the Deuill had counselled him. geuing them continually doubtfull answeres, in such sorte, that howsoeuer it fell out, they might say that it was the same, which was declared, and the answeres that he made.

In like sort the rest of the Indians for their pastime. doe take the smoke of the *Tabaco*, too make themselues drunke withall, and to see the visions, and thinges that represent vnto them that wherein they doe delight: and other times thy take it to knowe their businesse, and successe, because conformable to that, which they haue seene beyng drunke therewith, euen so they iudge of their businesse. And as the Deuil is a deceauer, and hath the knowledge of the vertue of hearbes, so he did shew the vertue of this Hearb, that by the meanes thereof, they might see their imaginations, and visions, that he hath represented to them, and by that meanes deceiue them.

So far Monardes. The page following his account begins thus:—

Hereafter followeth a further addition of the Hearbe called *Tabaco*, otherwise called by the Frenchmen *Nicotiane*. Which hearbe hath done great cures in the Realme of *France* and *Portugal*, as heereafter at large may appeare in this treatise following.

This treatise is not found in Monardes: but was taken by Frampton from a celebrated French author.

After the death of CHARLES ESTIENNE, another French doctor, JOHN LIEBAUT, edited successiue editions of his *L'Agriculture, et Maisen Ruslique*, in 1564, 1565, 1570, 1574, &c.: until the names of the two medical men became identified with this popular work.

In the edition of 1570, at *p.* 79, *b.* ii. *c.* 76, will be found the French text of 'the treatise following,' which Frampton slipped into a totally different author. Of this treatise, we shall give the essential portions, because it contains Nicot's own account of the introduction of Tobacco into France, within the decade preceding his relation.

Liébault thus begins his discourse:—

Nicotiane, although it bee not long since it hath bene knowne in France, notwithstanding deserueth palme and price, and among al other medicinable hearbs, it deserueth to stand in the first rank, by reason of his singular vertues, and as it were almost to bee had in admiration, as hereafter you shall vnderstand. And for that none suche as of auncient time, or of late dayes, haue written the nature of plantes, did neuer make mention thereof, I haue therefore learned the whole historie touching the same, which I learned of a gentleman my very friend, the first authour, inuenter, and bringer of this hearb into France: wherfore I thought good to publish it in writing for their sakes, that haue so often hearde speaking of this saide hearbe, and yet neyther knew the hearbe nor the effectes thereof.

This Hearbe is called *Nicotiane*, of the name of him that gaue the firste intelligence thereof vnto this Realme, as many other plantes haue taken their names of certayne Greekes and Romaines, who hauing bene in straunge Countries, for seruice of their common Weales, haue brought into their countries many plants, which were before vnknowne. Some haue called this

Hearbe the Queenes Hearbe, because it was firste sent vnto her, as heere-after shalbe declared by the Gentleman, that was the first inuenter of it, and since was by her geuen to diuers for to sowe, whereby it might bee planted in this lande. Others haue named it the great Priors hearbe, for that he caused it to multiply in Francke, more then any other, for the greate reuerence that he bare to [t]his hearbe, for the Diuine effectes therin containned. Many haue geuen it the name, *Petum*, which is indeede the proper name of the Hearbe, as they which haue trauelled that Countrie can tell. Notwithstanding, it is better to name it *Nicotiane*, by the name of him that sent it into Francke first, to the ende that hee may haue the honour thereof, according to his desert, for that hee hath enriched our Countrie [*i.e.* France], with so singular an Hearbe. Thus much for the name, and nowe hearken further for the whole Historie.

Then follows NICOT's own account :

Maister Iohn *Nicot*, Counsellor to the King, being Embassadour for his Maiestie in Portugall, in the yeere of our Lorde. 1559. 60. 61. went one day to see the Prysons of the King of Portugall: and a Gentleman beeyng the keeper of the sade Prisons presented him with this hearb, as a strange Plant brought from *Florida*. The same Maister *Nicot*, hauing caused the said hearb to be set in his Garden, where it grewe and multiplied maruellously, was vpon a time aduertised, by one of his Pages, that a young man, of kinne to that Page made asaye of that hearbe brused both the hearbe and the Iuice together vpon an vlcer, which he had vpon his cheeke neere vnto his nose, comming of a *Noli me tangere*, which began to take roote already at the gristles of the Nose, wherewith hee founde himselfe meruellously eased. Therefore the sayde Maister *Nicot* caused the sicke young man to bee brought before him, and causing the saide hearb to be continued to the sore eight or ten daies, this saide *Noli me tangere*, was vtterly extinguished and healed: and he had sent it, while this cure was a working to a certeine Phisition of the King of Portugall one of the greatest fame to examine the further working and effect of the said *Nicotiane*, and sending for the same young man at the end of ten dayes, the sayde Phisition seeing the visage of the said sicke yong man, certified, that the sayde *Noli me tangere* was vtterly extinguished, as in deede he neuer felt it since.

Within a while after, one of the Cookes of the sayde Embassadour hauing almost cutte off his thombe, with a great chopping knyfe, the Steward of the house of the sayde Gentleman ran to the sayde *Nicotiane*, and dressed him therewith fise or sixe tymes, and so in the ende thereof he was healed: from that time forward this hearbe began to bee famous throughout *Lishebron*, where the court of the kyng of Portugall was at that present, and the vertue of this sayde hearbe was extolled, and the people began to name it the Ambassadours hearbe. Wherefore there came certaine dayes after a Gentleman of the Countrie, Father to one of the Pages of the Ambassadour, who was troubled with an vlcer in his Legge, hauinge had the same two yeeres, and demanded of the sayde Ambassadour for his hearbe, and vsing the same in such order as is before written, at the end of tenne or twelue daies hee was healed. From that tyme forth the fame of that same hearbe increased in such sort, that many came from al places to haue some of it. Among al others there was a woman that had her face couered wyth a Ringworme rooted, as though she had a Visour on her face, to whome she saide L[ord] Embassadour caused the hearbe to be giuen, and told how she should vse it, and at the ende of eight or tenne daies, this woman was throughly healed, who came and presented her selfe to the Ambassadour, shewing him of her healing.

After there came a Captaine to present his Sonne sick of the kinges euill to the sayde L[ord] Ambassadour, for to send him into France, vnto whome there was asaye made of the sayde hearbe, which in fewe dayes did begin to shewe great signes of healing, and finally he was altogether healed therby of the kings euill.

The L[ord] Ambassadour seeing so great effectes proceeding of this hearbe, and hauing heard say that the Lady Montigue that was, dyed at Saint *German*s, of an vlcer bredd in her brest, that did turne to a *Noli me tangere*,

for the which there could neuer remedy bee founde, and lykewyse that the Countesse of *Ruff*, had sought for al the famous Phisitions of that Realme, for to heale her face, vnto whom they could giue no remedy, he thought it good to communicate the same into France, and did sende it to king Francis the seconde, and to the Queene Mother, and to many other Lords of the Court, with the maner of ministring the same: and howe to apply it vnto the said diseases, euen as he had found it by experience, and chiefly to the Lorde of *Jarnac* gouernour of Rogel, with whom the saide Lorde Ambassadour had great amitie for the seruice of the king. The which Lord of *Jarnac* told one day at the Queenes table, yat he had caused the saide *Nicotiane* to be distilled, and the water to bee dronke, mingled with water *Fuphrasie*, otherwise called eyehright, to one that was shorte breathed, who was therewith healed.

[Here follow descriptions of the herb, and directions for its cultivation.]

Moreover the inhabitantes of *Florida* do nourish themselues certaine ymes, with the smoke of this Hearbe, which they receaue at the mouth through certaine coffins, suche as the Grocers do vse to put in their Spices. There be other oyntmentes prepared of the sayde hearbe, with other simples, but for a truth this only simple hearbe, taken and applyed as aforesayde, is of greater efficacie, notwithstanding one may make thereof an oyntment, which is singular, to cleanse, incarnate, and knit together al maner of woundes: the making of the sayde Oyntmente is thus. Take a pounce of the freshe leaues of the sayde Hearbe, stampe them, and mingle them with newe Waxe, Rosine, commou oyle, of eche three ounces, let them boyle altogether, vntil the luyce *Nicotiane* be consumed, then adde therto three ounces of *Venise Turpentine*, straine the same through a Linen cloth, and keepe it in Pottes to your vse.

Liébant thus concludes:—

Loe, here you haue the true Historie of *Nicotiane*, of the whiche the sayde Lorde *Nicot*, one of the Kynges Counsellers first founder out of this hearbe, hath made mee priue aswell by woorde as by wryting, to make thee friendly Reader partaker therof, to whom I require thee to yeeld as hartly thanks as I acknowledge my self bounde vnto him, for this benefite received.—*Joyfull News*, fol. 42-45.

In so far therefore, as these two editions of *Joyfull newes* circulated, this much was known in England respecting Tobacco, so early as 1577-80.

II. The principal notices of the first introduction of the Herb into this country are these:—

1. EDMUND HOWES, in his continuation of J. Stow's *Annales*, [p. 1038. Ed. 1631] states—

Tobacco was first brought, and made known in England by Sir John Hawkins, about the yeare 1565 but not used by Englishmen in many yeeres after, though at this day commonly used by most men, and many women.

The dates of Mr, afterwards Sir John Hawkins' voyages to the West Indies, are

The first	Oct. 1562—	Sept. 1563.
The second	18 Oct. 1564—	20 Sept. 1565.
The third	2 Oct. 1567—	25 Jan. 1568.
‘the troublesome voyage’		

The account of the Second voyage, by John Sparke the younger, states that Hawkins, ranging along the coast of Florida for fresh water in July 1565, came upon the French settlement there under Laudoniere: and in describing that country Sparke mentions that the natives—

The *Floridians* when they trauell haue a kinde of herbe dryed, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire and the dried herbes put together, do sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or five dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vsed for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks.—*Hakluyt, p. 541. Ed. 1589.*

2. Howes, on the same page as the preceding, states—

Apricocks, Mellycatons, Musk-Millions and Tobacco, came into England about the 20 yeare of Queene Elizabeth [1577].

And adds in the margin—

Sir Walter Raleigh was the first that brought Tobacco into vse, when all men wondred what it meant.

The date here given, so far as Tobacco smoking generally is concerned, must be wrong by about ten years.

III. Smoking appears to have been first taught in England, under the following circumstances:—

1. Sir Walter Raleigh's first Expedition took possession of Virginia on 13 July 1584, and after a six weeks' stay in the country, returned home. The next year, a second expedition conveyed out a colony under Master Ralph Lane, which remained in the country from 17 Aug. 1585 to 18 June 1586: when Sir Francis Drake and his fleet returning from his victorious raid in the West Indies brought home the colony to the number of 103 persons. Among these was the celebrated mathematician Thomas Hariot, who in his excessively rare '*Briefve and true report of the new found land of Virginia: &c. . . .*' Imprinted at London 1588,' thus describes Tobacco, and the adoption of the smoking of it by these Virginian colonists.

There is an herbe which is sowed a part by it selfe and is called by the inhabitants *vppōwoc*: In the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the severall places and countries where it groweth and is vsed: The Spaniards generally call it *Tobacco*. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into powder: they vse to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie into their stomacke and heade; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humors, openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which meanes the vse thereof, not only preserueth the body from obstructions; but also if any be, so that they haue not beene of too long continuance, in short time breaketh them: wherby their bodies are notably preserued in health, and know not many greuous diseases wherewithall wee in England are oftentimes afflicted.

This *Vppōwoc* is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are maruelously delighted therewith: Whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dauncing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and staring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithal and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selues during the time we were there vsed to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, and haue found manie rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof; of which the relation would require a

volume by it selfe: the vse of it by so manie of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned Phisitions also, is sufficient witnes.

It would therefore appear that Raleigh himself had nothing to do either with the introduction of the weed itself, or of the habit of smoking of it. Hawkins may have brought home a few specimens of the plant in 1565; but for the importation of it in any quantity and for the teaching of how to smoke it, we are indebted to Master Ralph Lane and to his fellow-colonists, who acquired both from the Indians, during the twelve months they were cut off from all intercourse with their mother-country.

2. William Camden, who was second, afterwards Head Master of Westminster School between 1575-1593, and consequently a contemporary witness, in his *Annales*, published in Latin in 1615, at p. 388, gives this account; of which this is the earliest translation into English.

These were the first (that I know of) that brought at their returne into England, that *Indian Plant* called Tobacco, or *Nicotiana*, which they used, being instructed by the *Indians*, against crudities of the Stomack. And certes since that time it is grown so frequent in vse, and of such price, that many, nay, the most part, with an insatiable desire doe take of it, drawing into their mouth the smoke thereof, which is a strong sent, through a Pipe made of earth, and venting of it againe through their nose; some for wantonnesse, or rather fashion sake, and other for healths sake, insomuch that Tobacco shops are set vp in greater number than either Alehouses or Tauernes. And as one said, but falsely, the bodies of such Englishmen, as are so much delighted with this plant, did sceme to degenerate into the nature of the Sauiages, because they were caried away with the selfe-same thing, beleeuing to obtaine and conserue their health by the selfe-same meanes, as the barbarians did.—*Bk. III. p. 107. Ed. 1625.*

In the face of these facts, attested by early contemporary testimony: all accounts which represent Sir W. Raleigh as introducing Tobacco into England must be considered false in that respect.

Incidentally this agrees with the account—though in itself no evidence—given in an undated 4 pp. tract, *The Venimous Qualities of Tobacco*, apparently printed before 1650.

TABACCO is an ignite Plant, called by the native Americans *Picielt*; by those of *Hispaniola*, *Pete be Cenuc*: as by those of *New France*, *Peti*, *Petum*, and *Petunum*. It was called by the French *Nicotiana*, from *John Nicotius* Ambassador to the king of *France*, who *An. 1559*, first sent this Plant into *France*. But now it is generally by us Europeans termed *Tabaco*, (which we improperly pronounce *Tobacco*: a name first given it by the Spaniards from their Iland *Tabaco*, which abounded with this Plant; whereof had *Plato* had as much experience as we, he would, without al peradventure, have philosophised thereon. They say we are beholding to Sir *Francis Drake's* Mariners for the knowledge and use of the Plant, who brought its Seed from *Virginie* into *England* about the year 1585.

IV. But while Sir Walter introduced neither the Herb nor the manner of smoking it, there is a general consent that he principally brought the habit of Tobacco-smoking, or, as it was at first called, *Tobacco-drinking*, into fashion. His name, and his almost exclusively, became identified with the new National Habit.

Yet even of this, we have but little demonstrative proof.

It may, however, be well to give some of the principal traditions and legends on this point.

1. JOHN AUBREY, F.R.S., in his *Minutes of Lives of Eminent Men*, of which his Introductory letter to Anthony à Wood is dated 15 June 1680, gives the following in his life of Raleigh.

He was the first that brought tobacco into England, and into fashion. In our part of North Wilts—*e.g.* Malmesbury hundred—it came first into fashion by Sir Walter Long. They had first silver pipes. The ordinary sort made use of a walnut shell and a strawe. I have heard my grandfather Lyte say, that one pipe was handed from man to man round the table. Sir W. Raleigh standing in a stand at Sir Robert Poyntz parke, at Acton, tooke a pipe of tobacco, which made the ladies quitt it till he had donne. Within these 35 years, 'twas scandalous for a divine to take tobacco. It was sold then for its wayte in siluer. I haue heard some of our old yeomen neighbours say, that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham Market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco; now, the customes of it are the greatest his majestic hath.—*Letters written by Eminent Persons*. Ed. by John Aubrey. ii. 512. Ed. 1813.

2. J. P. MALCOLM, in his *Londinium Redivivum*, iv. p. 490, Ed. 1801, states.

'There was a tradition, in the parish of St. Matthew, Friday Street, that Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Hugh Myddleton often smoaked tobacco together at the door of Sir Hugh's house' in that parish.

3. THOMAS PENNANT, in his *Journey to Snowdon*, p. 28, Ed. 1781, which forms the second volume of his *Tour in Wales*, the first of which was published in 1778; gives the following account of William Middleton: the third son of Richard Middleton, Governor of Denbigh Castle, and brother to Sir Hugh Middleton, the sixth son in that family.

The particular information, from 'It is sayd' to †, is given on the authority of the *Sebright MSS.*, *i.e.* MSS. formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Lloyd, but lent to him by Sir John Sebright, Bart., in whose possession they were, at the date of Pennant's preface, 1 March 1781. The last part of the paragraph is merely Pennant's speculation: but there may be some truth in the MS. legend.

The third, *William*, was a sea captain, and an eminent poet. His early education was at *Oxford*: but his military turn led him abroad, where he signalized himself as soldier and sailor. He translated the psalms into *Welsh* metre, and finished them on *Jan.* 4th, 1595, *apud* *Scutum insulam occidentalem Indorum*; which, as well as his *Barddoniaeth*, or art of *Welsh* poetry, were published in *London*; the first in 1603, the other in 1593. It is sayed, that he, with captain *Thomas Price*, of *Pläsyllin*, and one captain *Koet*, were the first who smoked, or (as they called it) drank tobacco publickly in *London*; and that the *Londoners* flocked from all parts to see them.† Pipes were not then invented, so they used the twisted leaves, or *segars*. The invention is usually ascribed to *Sir Walter Raleigh*. It may be so; but he was too good a courtier to smoke in public, especially in the reign of *James*, who even condescended to write a book against the practice, under the title of *The Counter-blast to Tobacco*.

4. A Physician [Dr. J. A. PARIS] in *A Guide to Mounts Bay and Lands End*, p. 39, Ed. 1824, states.

A tradition exists here, that *Tobacco* was first smoked by *Sir Walter Raleigh* in Penza ce. on his landing from America.

Which legend is quite contrary to the facts.

5. WILLIAM OLDYS, in his *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* prefixed to *The History of the World*, Ed. 1736, xxxii., gives the following from a 4to MS. entitled *Apophthegms of the English Nation*, then in the collection of Rodney Fane, Esq.

He [Sir W. Raleigh] assured her majesty [Queen Elizabeth] he had so well experienced the nature of it, that he could tell her of what weight even the smoke would be in any quantity propos'd to be consum'd. Her majesty fixing her thoughts upon the most impracticable part of the experiment, that of bounding the smoke in a ballance, suspected that he put the traveller upon her, and would needs lay him a wager he could not solve the doubt: so he procured a quantity agreed upon to be thoroughly smok'd, then went to weighing; but it was of the ashes; and in the conclusion, what was wanting in the prime weight of the tobacco, her majesty did not deny to have been evaporated in smoke; and further said, that many labourers in the fire she had heard of who turned their gold into smoke, but Raleigh was the first who had turned smoke into gold.

JAMES HOWELL, *Familiar Letters*, iii. 12, Ed. 1650, in a Letter on Tobacco, incidentally confirms this story.

But if one would try a pretty conclusion how much smoak ther is in a pound of Tobacco, the ashes will tell him; for let a pound be exactly weighed, and the ashes kept charily and weighed afterwards, what wants of a pound weight in the ashes cannot be denied to have bin smoak, which evaporated into air: I haue bin told that Sir Walter Rawleigh won a wager of Queen Elizabeth upon this nicity.

6. We have now come to a legend, perhaps the most untrustworthy of all.

(1.) In *Tarlton's Jest*s, 1611, 4to, there occurs the following story.

How Tarlton tooke tobacco at the first comming up of it.

Tarlton, as other gentlemen used, at the first comming up of tobacco, did take it more for fashion's sake than otherwise; and being in a roome, set between two men overcome with wine, and they never seeing the like, wondred at it, and seeing the vapour come out of Tarlton's nose, cryed out: fire, fire! and threw a cup of wine in Tarlton's face. Make no more stirre, quoth Tarlton, the fire is quenched; if the sheriffes come, it will turne to a fine, as the custome is. And drinking that againe: fie, sayes the other, what a stinke it makes; I am almost poysoned. If it offend, saies Tarlton, let's every one take a little of the smell, and so the savour will quickly goe: but tobacco whiffes made them leave him to pay all.—*Shakespeare's Jest-Books*, Ed. by W. C. Hazlitt. ii. 221. Ed. 1864.

(2.) In 1619, BARNABY RICH inserted in the second edition of *The Irish Hubbub, or the English Hue and Crie*, a similar story.

I remember a pretty jest of Tobacco. That was this. A certaine Welchman comming newly to London, and beholding one to take tobacco, neuer seeing the like before, and not knowing the manner of it, but perceiuing him vent smoake so fast, and supposing his inward parts to be on fire: cried out, O Ihesu, Ihesu man, for the passion of Cod hold, for by Cods splud ty snowts on fire, and hauing a bowle of beere in his hand, threw it at the others face to quench his smoking nose.—p. 45.

(3.) To somewhat similar purport is the legend of Sir W. Raleigh and the Tankard of Ale. Of this story, though evidently current in the seventeenth century, Oldys could quote no earlier authority than *The British Apollo*, 3d Ed. p. 376, London 1726: and we

can only adduce the authority of the first edition of the same work.

The British Apollo was a bi-weekly periodical 'Perform'd by a Society of Gentlemen,' partly devoted to the explanation of difficulties in Divinity, Mathematics, Love, and such like, and partly to Poetry and Political News. In itself of no authority whatever, it merely dispensed its modicums of current knowledge from the learned to the general public.

In Vol. I, No. 43, published on July 7, 1708, occur the following question and answer.

Q. *Gentlemen, Pray how long is it since, the smoking Tobacco, and the taking Snuff hath been in Use here in England; the time when they were first brought over, and how, or by whom.* Your Humble Servant, H. S.

A. Snuff, tho' the Use of it has been long known to such, as were by merchandizing or other means, familiar with the Spanish Customes, has been till lately a perfect Stranger to the Practice of the British Nation, and like our other Fashions came to us from *France*, but the Use of Tobacco-smoking, was introduc'd by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and since a comical story depends upon the Relation, it may not be unacceptable to the Querist and the Publick.

Sir *Walter* having imitated the *Indians* by delighting in their Favorite Weed, was unwilling to disuse it, and therefore at his return to *England*, supplied himself with some Hogsheads, which he plac'd in his own Study, and generally indulg'd himself in Smoking secretly, two Pipes a Day: at which times he order'd a Simple Fellow, who waited at his Study Door, to bring him up a Tankard of old Ale and Nutmeg, always laying aside the Pipe, when he heard his Servant coming: But while he was one day, earnestly employ'd in Reading something, which amus'd him, The Fellow enter'd, and surprizing his Master, as the Smoak ascended thickly from his Mouth and the Bole of the Pipe, he threw the Ale directly in his Face; and running down Stairs alarm'd the Family with repeated Exclamations, that his Master was on fire in the in-side, and before they could get up Stairs would be burnt to Ashes.

How much this legend wanders from the facts of the case, will be apparent from the above. There may, however, be earlier accounts of this story in a more credible form: but we have not met with them. The story may possibly have been connected with other names besides Tarleton, the Welshman, and Raleigh.

Oldys, in quoting the legend, remarks.

This I say, if true, has nothing in it of more surprising or unparallel'd simplicity, than there was in that poor *Norwegian*, who upon the first sight of *Roses* could not be induced to touch, tho' he saw them grow, being so amazed to behold trees budding with fire; or, to come closer by way of retaliation, than there was in those *Virginians* themselves, who, the first time they seized upon a quantity of Gun-powder which belong'd to the *English* colony, sow'd it for grain, or the seed of some strange vegetable in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest to scatter their enemies. *Life of Sir W. Raleigh, xxxi. Ed. 1736.*

6. We may conclude this string of stories, with a trustworthy account of Sir W. Raleigh's Tobacco Box. OLDYS in his *Life*, xxxi. Note e, Ed. 1736, tells us, that

Being at *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, soon after Mr. *Ralph Thoresby* the antiquary died, Anno 1725. I saw his *Musæum*; and in it, among other rarities, what himself has publicly call'd (in the catalogue thereof, annexed to his antiquities of that town) Sir *Walter Raleigh's* tobacco box. From the best of my memory, I can resemble its outward appearance to nothing more

nearly than one of our modern *Muff-cases*; about the same height and width, cover'd with red leather, and open'd at top but with a hinge. I think like one of those. In the inside, there was a cavity for a receiver of glass or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco; and from the edge of the receiver at top, to the edge of the box, a circular stay or collar, with holes in it, to plant the tobacco about, with six or eight pipes to smoke it in. This travelling box, with the MSS. Medals and other rarities in its company, descending to a young clergyman, the son of the deceased, was soon after reported to have been translated to *London*.

V. The general credence and association of Smoking with Sir W. Raleigh being remembered; may it not be taken as proof of a malignancy towards him—even thus early—on the part of the Writer of the *Counterblaste*; in that he depreciates 'the first Author' as neither King, great Conqueror, nor learned Doctor of Physicke,' and affirms the custome to be 'brought in by a father so generally hated;' in that he wilfully or ignorantly falsifies the history of the Introduction of Tobacco; concocting a degrading story for his purpose.

VI. We have now but to notice the early beginnings of the Tobacco Controversy, which—sometimes slumbering, sometimes raging—has lasted to our own time, and will yet go on. It created a larger early Tobacco literature in England than is generally thought, or than we have been able to trace. It raged over Europe as well as in England.

And here we may express some astonishment that no one among the countless myriads of Smokers, has ever written a History of the Tobacco Literature and of the progress of Smoking through civilized and uncivilized communities, even unto this last age, wherein the Whahabees of Arabia punish it, under the name of *Drinking the shameful* with death. Of sketches there are several. Mr. F. Tiedeman has given an excellent one of the general Introduction of the plant into Europe, in his *Geschichte des Tabaks, etc.*, Frankfort, 1852. Mr. F. W. Fairholt in his *History of Tobacco*, London 1842, has given a good instalment towards a History of the subject: while *A Paper: of Tobacco*, by Joseph Fume [W. A. Chatto] London, 1832, is a slighter study still. Another work, *A Pinch of Snuff*, London, 1837, I have been unable to meet with. Dr. H. W. Cleland in his privately printed work *On the History and Properties, Chemical and Medical, of Tobacco*, Glasgow, July 1840—which work also we have not had the advantage of consulting—gives a list of 150 works on this subject. All these modern works are but helps to the future Historian of Tobacco.

VII. To these; we can add here but another sketch of the earlier Controversy; and that a very limited one. It will be convenient to give the notices under each year: dwelling more particularly on those which incidentally illustrate the growth of the Habit, as well as the progress of the Controversy.

1587. *De Herba Panacea*, written by GILES EVARARD, latinized ÆGIDIUS EVERARDUS, may be just mentioned: because it formed the text of a larger English work, *Panacea*: published in London in 1659.

1595. WILLIAM BARLEY had a licence to print a Treatise describing the nature of Tobacco. *Herbert's Ames*, ii. 277.

1596. BEN JONSON, in *Every Man in his Humour*, Act III. Sc. 2, acted on 25th November 1596, thus very skilfully represents both sides of the controversy, in the speeches of *Bobadilla* and *Cob*.

Bobadilla. Body of me: here's the remainder of seven pound, since yesterday was sevennight. It's your right *Trinidado*: did you neuer take any, signior?

Stephano. No truly sir? but i'le learne to take it now, since you commend it so.

Bobadilla. Signior belecue me, (vpon my relation) for what I tel you, the world shall not improue. I haue been in the Indies (whcre this herbe growes) where neither my selfe, nor a dozen Gentlemen more (of my knowledge) haue receiued the taste of any other nutriment, in the world, for the space of one and twentie weekes, but Tabacco onely. Therefore it cannot be but 'tis most diuine. Further, take it in the nature, in the truc kinde so, it makes an Antidote, that had you taken the most deadly poyssonous simple in all Florence, it should expell it, and clarifie you, with as much ease, as I speake. And for your greene wound, your *Balsamum*, and your — are all meere gulleries, and trash to it, especially your *Trinidado*; your *Nerucotian* is good too: I could say what I know of the vertue of it, for the exposing of rewmes, raw humors, crudities, obstructions, with a thousand of this kind; but I profess my selfe no quacke-saluer: only thus much: by *Hercules* I doe holde it, and will affirme it (before any Prince in Europe) to be the most foueraigne, and pretious herbe, that euer the earth tendred to the vse of man.

Immediately afterwards; he makes *Cob* represent the other side.

Cob. By gods deynes: I marle what pleasure or felicitie they haue in taking this rogish Tabacco: it's good for nothing but to choake a man, and fill him full of smoake, and imbers: there were foure died out of one house last weeke with taking of it, and two more the bell went for yester-night, one of them (they say) will ne're scape it, he voyded a bushell of soote yesterday, vpward and downeward. By the stockes; and there were no wiser men then I, I'd haue it present death, man or woman, that should but deale with a Tabacco pipe; why, it will stife them all in the'nd as many as vse it; it's little better than rats bane. *Ed.* 1601.

(3.) Tobacco is said not to be alluded to by Shakespeare or in the *Arabian Nights*.

(4.) It is often noticed by other English dramatists: as Dekker and others later on. See also Malone, *Hist. Acc. of the English Stage*, p. 584.

1597. THOMAS GERARD, 'Master in Chiurvrgerie,' figures and describes the Tobacco plant in *The Herbal or General Histoire of Plantes*, Bk. ii. pp. 285-9.

1597. Bp. JOSEPH HALL publishes his Satires, in which he alludes to Tobacco Smoking, Bk. iv. Sat. 4; Bk. v. Sat. 2.

1598. PAUL HENTZNER, in his Latin *Itinerarium* under August 1598, has a passage, of which the following is a translation by Mr. W. B. Rye:—

At these spectacles, and everywhere else, the English are constantly smoking the Nicotian weed, which in America is called *Tobaca*—others call it *Pætum*—[i.e. *Petun*, the Brazilian name for Tobacco, from which the allied

beautiful plant 'Petunia' derives its appellation,] and generally in this manner: they have pipes on purpose made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and lighting it, they draw the smoke into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils like funnels, along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head.—*England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 216, ed. 1865.

1599. HENRY BUTTES, M.A. and Fellow of C. C. C., in C[ambridge], wrote a strange work, *Dyets Dry Dinner*, of which title he gives this explanation—

Dyets dry Dinner. That is, varietie of Fare; prouided, prepared and ordered, at *Dyets* own prescription: whose seruant and Attendant at this feast I professe my selfe. Thus far perhaps not disliked of any. A *Dry Dinner*, not only *Caninum Prandizum*, without Wine, but *Accipitrinum*, without all drinke except *Tabacco*, (which also is but *Dry Drinke*): herein not like to be lacked of many. What ere it be (as he saith in the *Comedie*) *Habeas et Nacta*, take it as you finde it, and welcome. More then which I cannot perform.

The following preface *To my Country-men Readers*, is so allusive that its entire inferion may be pardoned, though it wander a little from our subject:—

Welcome courteous Countrey-men. I meane especially *Norfolkmen*. For they are true Catholiques in matter of Dyet: no Recusants of any thing that is mans meate. I bid all in general, excepting only such as are affrayed of roasted Pigge, a breast or legge of Mutton, a Ducke &c. To conclude, I forbid no man, but him onely that hath married a wife and cannot come. No man shall loose his labour. Here are *Lettuses* for euery mans lips. For the *Northeren-man*, *White-meates*, *Beefe*, *Mutton*, *Venison*: for the *Southerne-man*, *Fruites*, *Hearbes*, *Fowle*, *Fish*, *Spice*, and *Sauce*. As for the *Middlesex* or *Londoner*, I smell his Diet. *Vescitur aura ætheria*. Here is a Pipe of right *Trinidado* for him. The *Yorkers* they will be content with bald *Tabacodocko*. What should I say? here is good *Veale* for the *Essex-man*: passing *Leekes* and excellent *Cheese* for the *Welsh-man*. *Denique quid non?* *Mary*, here are neither *Eg-pies* for the *Lancashire-man*, nor *Wag-tayles* for the *Kentish-man*. But that is all one, here is other good cheere enough. And what is wanting in meate, shall bee supplied in kinde welcome and officious attendance.

Least any thing should be amisse, or missing to thee, I haue my selfe (for fault of a better taken vpon me all such Offices as any way concerne this Dinner.

1 CHOISE. First, I am *Cator*: and haue prouided the very choise of such daynties as Natures Market affoordeth.

2 VSE. Secondly, I am *Taster*: commending each dish to thy *Palate*, according to his right vse and vertue.

3 HURT. And (since nothing is so perfectly good, as it partaketh of no euill property) I haue put into a by-dish like *Eg-shelles* in a Saucer what worthily may breed offence. Herein imitating a merry *Greeke*, who espying an haire in a dish of Butter, called for another dish and dished it by it self.

4 PREPARATION OR CORRECTION. Thirdly, I play the *Cooke*: so preparing, seasoning, and saucing the harmefull disposition of enery meat, as it shall be either in whole abolished, or in part qualified.

[5] DEGREE, SEASON, AGE, CONSTITUTION. Lastly, I assume the *Carners* office: and hauing noted the nature and operation of each particular dispense to euery of my *Guests* according to the *Season*, his *Age*, and *Constitution*.

Thus very rudely, I obtrude vnto thee not a banquet, but a byt rather of each dish *Scholler-likely*, that is, badly carued. For *Schollers* are bad *Carners*. Do thou, by thy kindly feeding on *Dyets dry Dinner*, but cause thy selfe to thirst for *Dyets Drinking*: and I shall with like alacrity, act thy *Cup-bearer*. Wherefore vntill thou beest *Dry drunke*, Fare-well. *Thy Country-man*. H. Buttes.

Applying his method, Buttes thus discourfes of Tabacco :

CHOISE. Translated out of India in the seed or roote ; Natiue or satiuë in our own fruitfullest soiles : Dried in the shade, and compiled very close : of a tawny colour, somewhat inclining to red : most perspicuous and cleare : which the Nose soonest taketh in snuffe.

VSE. It cureth any grieffe, dolour, opilation, impostume, or obstruction, proceeding of cold or winde : especially in the head or breast : the leaues are dulleth against the Migram, cold stomackes, sick kidnies, tooth-ache, fits of the mooter, naughty breath, scaldings or burnings : 4. nunces of the iuyce drunk, purgeth vp and downe : cleanseth the eyes, being outwardly applied. The water distilled and taken afore the fits, cureth an Ague.

The fume taken in a Pipe is good against Rumes, Catarrhs, hoarsenesse, ache in the head, stomacke, lungs, breast : also in want of meat, drinke, sleepe, or rest.

HURT. Mortifieth and benummeth : causeth drowsinesse : troubleth and dulleth the senses : makes (as it were) drunke : dangerous in meale time.

CORRECTION. The leaues be-ashed or warmed in imbers and ashes : taken once a day at most, in ye morning, fasting.

DEGREE. Hot and dry in the second : of a stiffening and soddering nature. Also disensing and dissolving filthy humours, consisting of contrary qualities.

SEASON. AGE. CONSTITUTION. In Winter and the Spring, for hot, stroug, youthful, and fat bodies only, as some thinke.

Buttes also compofes *A Satyricall Epigram, vpon the wanton, and exceffive vse of Tabacco.*

I T chaunc'd me gazing at the Theater,
 To spie a Lock-Tabacco-Chevalier,
 Clowding the loathing ayr with foggie fume
 Of Dock-Tabacco, friendly foe to rume.
 I wisht the Roman lawes seuerity ; *Alex. seu. Edict.*
Who smoke selleth, with smoke be don to dy.
 Being well nigh smouldred with his smokie stir,
 I gan this wize bespeak my gallant Sir :
 Certes, me thinketh (Sir) it ill beseems,
 Thus here to vapour out these reeking steams :
 Like or to *Maroes* steeds, whose nostrhils flam'd ;
 Or *Plinies* Nosemen (mouthles men) surnam'd,
 Whose breathing nose supply'd Mouths absency.
 He me regrets with this prophane reply :
 Nay ; I resemble (Sir) *Jehouah* dread,
 From out whose nostrhils a smoake issued :
 Or the mid-ayrs congealed region,
 Whose stomach with crude humors frozenon
 Sucks vp Tabacco-like the vpmost ayr,
 Enkindled by Fires neighbour candle fayr :
 And hence it spits out watry reums amaine,
 As phleamy snow, and haile, and sheerer raine :
 Anon it smoakes beneath, it flames anon.
 Sooth then, quoth I, it's safest we be gon,
 Lest there arise some *Ignis Fatuus*
 From out this smoaking flame, and choken vs.
 On English foole : wanton Italianly :
 Go Frenchly : Duchly drink : breath Indianly.

He then gives this *Storie for Table-talk.*

This Hearbe is of great Antiquitie and high respect among the Indians, and especially those of *America* or new *Spain*. Of whom the Spaniards tooke it, after they had subdued those Countries, first vpon a liking of the hearbe verie faire and glorious to the eye ; afterward vpon triall of his vertues wortie admiration.

The Name in *India* is *Pilicet*, surnamed *Tabacco* by the Spaniard, of the

ile *Tabaco*. By their meanes it spred farre and neare : but yet wee are not beholden to their tradition. Our English *Ulysses*, renomed Syr *Walter Rawleigh*, a man admirably excellent in Nauigation, of Natures priuy counsell, and infinitely reade in the wide booke of the worlde, hath both farre fetcht it, and deare bought it : the estimate of the treasure I leane to other ; yet this all know, since it came in request, there hath bene *Magnus fumi questus*, and *Fumi-ventulus* is the best Epithite for an Apothecary.

Thus much late Histories tell vs : among the Indians it is so highly honoured, that when the Priests are consulting in matter of importance, they presently cast *Tabacco* into the fire, and receiue at their nose and mouth, the smoak through a Cane, till they fall downe dead-drunke. Afterward reuiuing againe, they giue answeres according to the phantasmes and visions, which appeared to them in their sleepe.

1602. (1) "*Work for Chimney-sweepers : or A warning for Tobacco-nisls*. Describing the pernicious vse of *Tobacco*, no lesse pleasant than profitable for all forts to reade : *Fumus patriæ, Igne alieno Luculentior*. As much to say, Better be chokt with English hemp, then poisoned with Indian *Tabacco*." Written by PHILARETES, who alleges eight reasons against *Tobacco* ; whereof one is—

7 Seauently, for that the first author and finder hereof was the Diuell, and the first practisers of the same were the Diuells Priests, and therefore not to be vsed of vs Christians.

(2.) This provoked "*A Defence of Tabacco : with a friendly answer to the late printed Booke called Worke for Chimney-Sweepers. Si iudicas, cognosce : si Rex es, iube*."

(3.) Sir WILLIAM VAUGHAN, in his *Naturall and Artificiall Directions for health, &c.* Sect. ii. ch. 8. *Of Hearbes*, p. 22.

Cane Tabacco well dried, and taken in a siluer pipe, fasting in the morning, cureth the megrim, the tooth ache, obstructions proceeding of cold, and helpeth the fits of the mother. After meales it doth much hurt, for it infecteth the braine and the liues.

In his fourth edition of this work, published in 1613, he altered his mind and wrote against Smoking.

(4.) Another anonymous work dedicated 'To my loving Friend Master Michael Drayton,' appeared, entitled *The Metamorphosis of Tabacco*. It opens with the following lines :—

I sing the loues of the superiour powers,
With the faire mother of all fragrant flowers :
From which first loue a glorious Simple springs,
Belou'd of heau'nly Gods, and earthly Kings.
Let others in their wanton verses chaunt
A beautious face that doth their senses daunt,
And on their Muses wings lift to the skie
The radiant beames of an inchaunting eye.
Me let the sound of great *Tabaccoes* praise
A pitch aboue those loue-sicke Poets raise :
Let me adore with my thrice-happie pen
The sweete and sole delight of mortall men,
The *Cornu-copia* of all earthly pleasure,
Where bank-rupt Nature hath consum'd her treasure,
A worthie plant springing from *Floraes* hand,
The blessed ofspring of an vncouth land.

1604. In the course of this year ; there was anonymously published



A
COUNTER-
BLASTE TO
Tobacco.



Imprinted at London
by R. B.
Anno 1604.



¶ TO THE READER.

AS every humane body (*deare Country men*) how wholesome soeuer, is notwithstanding subiect, or at least naturally inclined to some sorts of diseases, or infirmities: so is there no Common-wealth, or Body-politicke, how well gouerned, or peaceable soeuer it bee. that lackses the owne popular errors, and naturally enclined corruptions: and therefore is it no wonder, although this our Country and Common-wealth, though peaceable, though wealthy, though long flourishing in both, be amongst the rest, subiect to the owne naturall infirmities. We are of all Nations the people most louing and most reuerently obedient to our Prince, yet are wee (as time hath often borne witnesse) too easie to be seduced to make Rebellion, vpon very slight grounds. Our fortunate and oft prooued valour in warres abroad, our heartie and reuerent obedience to our Princes at home, hath bred vs a long, and a thrice happy peace: Our Peace hath bred wealth: And Peace and wealth hath brought foorth a generall sluggishnesse, which makes vs wallow in all sorts of idle delights, and soft delicacies, the first seedes of the subuersion of all great Monarchies. Our Cleargie are become negligent and lazie, our Nobilitie and Gentrye prodigall, and solde to

their priuate delights, Our Lawyers couetous, our Common-people prodigall and curious; and generally all sorts of people more carefull for their priuat ends, then for their mother the Common-wealth.

For remedie whercof, it is the Kings part (as the proper Phisician of his Politicke-body) to purge it of all those diseases, by Medicines meete for the same: as by a certaine milde, and yet iust forme of gouernment, to maintaine the Publicke quietnesse, and preuent all occasions of Commotion: by the example of his owne Person and Court, to make vs all ashamed of our sluggish delicacie, and to stirre vs vp to the practise againe of all honest exercises, and Martiall shadowes of VVarre; As likewise by his, and his Courts moderatenesse in Apparell, to make vs ashamed of our prodigalitie: By his quicke admonitions and carefull ouerseeing of the Cleargie, to waken them vp againe, to be more diligent in their Offices: By the sharpe triall, and seuerer punishment of the partiall, couetous and bribing Lawyers, to reforme their corruptions: And generally by the example of his owne Person, and by the due execution of good Lawes, to reforme and abolish, piece and piece, these old and euill grounded abuses. For this will not bee Opus vnus diei, but as euery one of these diseases, must from the King receiue the owne cure proper for it, so are there some sorts of abuses in Common-wealths, that though they be of so base and contemptible a condition, as they are too low for the Law to looke on, and too meane for a King to interpone his authoritic, or bend his eye vpon: yet are they corruptions, aswell as the greatest of them. So is an Ant an Animal, aswell as an Elephant: so is a VVrenne Auis, aswell as a Swanney and so is a small dint of the Toothake, a disease aswee as the fearefull Plague is. But for these base sorts of corruption in Common-wealthes, not onely the King, or

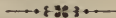
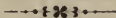
any inferior Magistrate, but Quilibet è populo may serue to be a Phisician, by discouering and impugning the error, and by perswading reformation thereof.

And surely in my opinion, there cannot be a more base, and yet hurtfull, corruption in a Countrey, then is the vile vse (or other abuse) of taking Tobacco in this Kingdome, which hath mooued me, shortly to discouer the abuses thereof in this following little Pamphlet.

If any thinke it a light Argument, so is it but a toy that is bestowed vpon it. And since the Subiect is but of Smoke, I thinke the fume of an idle braine, may serue for a sufficient battery against so fumous and feeble an enemy. If my grounds be found true, it is all I looke for; but if they cary the force of perswasion with them, it is all I can wish, and more then I can expect. My onely care is, that you, my deare Countrey-men, may rightly conceiue euen by this smallest trifle, of the sinceritie of my meaning
in greater matters, neuer to spare any
paine, that may tend to the
procuring of your weale
and prosperitie.



A
COUNTERBLASTE TO
Tobacco.



That the manifold abuses of this vile custome of *Tobacco* taking, may the better be espied, it is fit, that first you enter into consideration both of the first originall thereof, and likewise of the reasons of the first entry thereof into this Countrey. For certainly as such customes, that haue their first

institution either from a godly, necessary, or honorable ground, and are first brought in, by the meanes of some worthy, vertuous, and great Personage, are euer, and most iustly, holden in great and reuerent estimation and account, by all wise, vertuous, and temperate spirits: So should it by the contrary, iustly bring a great disgrace in to that sort of customes, which hauing their originall from base corruption and barbarity, doe in like sort, make their first entry into a Countrey, by an inconsiderate and childish affectation of Noueltie, as is the true case of the first inuention of *Tobacco* taking, and of the first entry thereof among vs. For *Tobacco* being a common herbe, which (though vnder diuers names) growes

almost euery where, was first found out by some of the barbarous *Indians*, to be a Preseruatiue, or Antidot against the Pockes, a filthy disease, whereunto these barbarous people are (as all men know) very much subiect, what through the vncleanly and adust constitution of their bodies, and what through the intemperate heate of their Climat: so that as from them was first brought into Christendome, that most detestable disease, so from them likewise was brought this vse of *Tobacco*, as a stinking and vnsauorie Antidot, for so corrupted and execrable a Maladie, the stinking Suffumigation whereof they yet vse against that disease, making so one canker or venime to eat out another.

And now good Countrey men let vs (I pray you) consider, what honour or policie can mooue vs to imitate the barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slauish *Indians*, especially in so vile and stinking a custome? Shall wee that disdaine to imitate the maners of our neighbour *France* (hauing the stile of the first Christian Kingdom) and that cannot endure the spirit of the Spaniards (their King being now comparable in largenes of Dominions, to the great Emperor of *Turkie*) Shall wee, I say, that haue bene so long ciuill and wealthy in Peace, famous and inuincible in Warre, fortunate in both, we that haue bene euer able to aide any of our neighbours (but neuer deased any of their eares with any of our supplications for assistance) shall we, I say, without blushing, abase our selues so farre, as to imitate these beastly *Indians*, slaues to the *Spaniards*, refuse to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Couenant of God? Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe? in preferring glasses, feathers, and such toyes, to golde and precious stones, as they doe? yea why do we not denie God and adore the Deuill, as they doe?

Now to the corrupted basenesse of the first vse of this *Tobacco*, doeth very well agree the foolish and groundlesse first entry thereof into this Kingdome. It is not so long since the first entry of this abuse amongst vs here, as this present age cannot yet very well re-

member, both the first Author, and the forme of the first introduction of it amongst vs. It was neither brought in by King, great Conquerour, nor learned Doctor of Phisicke.

With the report of a great discouery for a Conquest, some two or three Sauage men, were brought in, together with this Sauage custome. But the pitie is, the poore wilde barbarous men died, but that vile barbarous custome is yet alieue, yea in fresh vigor: so as it seemes a miracle to me, how a custome springing from so vile a ground, and brought in by a father so generally hated, should be welcomed vpon so slender a warrant. For if they that first put it in practise heere, had remembred for what respect it was vsed by them from whence it came, I am sure they would haue bene loath, to haue taken so farre the imputation of that disease vpon them as they did, by vsing the cure thereof. For *Sanis non est opus medico*, and counterpoisons are neuer vsed, but where poyson is thought to precede.

But since it is true, that diuers customes slightly grounded, and with no better warrant entred in a Commonwealth, may yet in the vse of them thereafter, prooue both necessary and profitable; it is therefore next to be examined, if there be not a full Sympathie and true Proportion, betweene the base ground and foolish entrie, and the loathsome, and hurtfull vse of this stinking Antidote.

I am now therefore heartily to pray you to consider, first vpon what false and erroneous grounds you haue first built the generall good liking thereof; and next, what finnes towards God, and foolish vanities before the world you commit, in the detestable vse of it.

As for these deceitfull grounds, that haue specially moued you to take a good and great conceit thereof, I shall content my selfe to examine here onely foure of the principals of them; two founded vpon the Theoricke of a deceiuable apparance of Reason, and two of them vpon the mistaken Practicke of generall Experience.

First, it is thought by you a fure Aphorisme in the Physickes, That the braines of all men, beeing naturally colde and wet, all dry and hote things should be good for them ; of which nature this stinking suffumigation is, and therefore of good vse to them. Of this Argument, both the Proposition and Assumption are false, and so the Conclusion cannot but be voyd of it selfe. For as to the Proposition, That because the braines are colde and moist, therefore things that are hote and drie are best for them, it is an inept consequence : For man beeing compounded of the foure Complexions, (whose fathers are the foure Elements) although there be a mixture of them all in all the parts of his body, yet must the diuers parts of our *Microcosme* or little world within our selues, be diuersly more inclined, some to one, some to another complexion, according to the diuersitie of their vses, that of these discords a perfect harmonie may bee made vp for the maintenance of the whole body.

The application then of a thing of a contrary nature, to any of these parts, is to interrupt them of their due function, and by consequence hurtfull to the health of the whole body. As if a man, because the Liuer is hote (as the fountaine of blood) and as it were an ouen to the stomacke, would therefore apply and weare close vpon his Liuer and stomacke a cake of lead ; he might within a very short time (I hope) be susteined very good cheape at an Ordinarie, beside the cleering of his conscience from that deadly sinne of gluttonie. And as if, because the Heart is full of vitall spirits, and in perpetuall motion, a man would therefore lay a heauy pound stone on his breast, for staving and holding downe that wanton palpitation, I doubt not but his breast would bee more bruised with the weight thereof, then the heart would be comforted with such a disagreeable and contrarious cure. And euen so is it with the Braines. For if a man, because the Braines are colde and humide, would therefore vse inwardly by smells, or outwardly by application,

things of hot and drie qualitie, all the gaine that he could make thereof, would onely be to put himfelfe in a great forwardnesse for running mad, by ouerwatching himfelfe, the coldnesse and moistnesse of our braine beeing the onely ordinarie meanes that procure our sleepe and rest. Indeed I do not denie, but when it falls out that any of these, or any part of our bodie growes to be distempered, and to tend to an extremitie, beyond the compasse of Natures temperate mixture, that in that case cures of contrary qualities, to the intemperate inclination of that part, being wisely prepared and discretely ministered, may be both necessarie and helpfull for strengthening and assisting Nature in the expulsion of her enemies: for this is the true definition of all profitable Physicke.

But first these Cures ought not to bee vsed, but where there is neede of them, the contrarie whereof, is daily practised in this generall vse of *Tobacco* by all sorts and complexions of people.

And next, I deny the Minor of this argument, as I haue already said, in regard that this *Tobacco*, is not simply of a dry and hot qualitie; but rather hath a certaine venemous facultie ioyned with the heate thereof, which makes it haue an Antipathie against nature, as by the hatefull smell thereof doeth well appeare. For the Nose being the proper Organ and conuoy of the sense of smelling to the braines, which are the onely fountaine of that sense, doeth euer serue vs for an infallible witnessse, whether that Odour which we smell, be healthfull or hurtfull to the braine (except when it falls out that the sense it selfe is corrupted and abused through some infirmitie, and distemper in the braine.) And that the suffumigation thereof cannot haue a drying qualitie, it needes no further probation, then that it is a smoake, all smoake and vapour, being of it selfe humide, as drawing neere to the nature of the ayre, and easie to be resolued againe into water, whereof there needes no other prooffe but the Meteors, which being bred of nothing else but of the vapours and ex-

halations sucked vp by the Sunne out of the earth, the Sea, and waters yet are the same smoakie vapours turned, and transformed into Raynes, Snowes, Deawes, hoare Frostes, and such like waterie Meteors, as by the contrarie the raynie cloudes are often transformed and euaporated in blustering winds.

The second Argument grounded on a show of reason is, That this filthie smoake, aswell through the heat and strength thereof, as by a naturall force and qualitie, is able and fit to purge both the head and stomacke of Rhewmes and distillations, as experience teacheth, by the spitting and auoyding fleame, immediately after the taking of it. But the fallacie of this Argument may easily appeare, by my late preceding description of the Meteors. For euen as the smoakie vapours sucked vp by the Sunne, and flaid in the lowest and colde Region of the ayre, are there contracted into cloudes and turned into raine and such other watery Meteors: So this stinking smoake being sucked vp by the Nose, and imprisoned in the colde and moyst braines, is by their colde and wett facultie, turned and cast forth againe in waterie distillations, and so are you made free and purged of nothing, but that wherewith you wilfully burdened your selues: and therefore are you no wiser in taking *Tobacco* for purging you of distillations, then if for preuenting the Cholike you would take all kinde of windie meates and drinkes. and for preuenting of the Stone, you would take all kinde of meates and drinkes that would breede grauell in the Kidneyes, and then when you were forced to auoyde much winde out of your stomacke, and much grauell in your Vrine, that you should attribute the thanke thereof to such nourishments as bred those within you, that behoued either to be expelled by the force of Nature, or you to haue *burst at the broad side*, as the Prouerbe is.

As for the other two reasons founded vpon experience, the first of which is, That the whole people would not haue taken so generall a good liking there-

of, if they had not by experience found it verie foueraigne and good for them: For answere thereunto how easily the mindes of any people, wherewith God hath replenished this world, may be drawn to the foolish affectation of any noueltie, I leaue it to the discret iudgement of any man that is reasonable.

Doe we not dayly see, that a man can no sooner bring ouer from beyond the Seas any new forme of apparell, but that hee can not bee thought a man of spirit, that would not presently imitate the same? And so from hand to hand it spreads, till it be practised by all, not for any commoditie that is in it, but only because it is come to be the fashion. For such is the force of that naturall Selfe-loue in euery one of vs, and such is the corruption of enuie bred in the brest of euery one, as we cannot be content vnlesse we imitate euery thing that our fellowes doe, and so prooue our selues capable of euery thing whereof they are capable, like Apes, counterfeiting the maners of others, to our owne destruction. For let one or two of the greatest Masters of Mathematickes in any of the two famous Vniuersities, but constantly affirme any cleare day, that they see some strange apparition in the skies: they will I warrant you be seconded by the greatest part of the Students in that profession: So loath will they be, to bee thought inferiour to their fellowes, either in depth of knowledge or sharpnesse of sight: And therefore the generall good liking and imbracing of this foolish custome, doeth but onely proceede from that affectation of noueltie, and popular error, whereof I haue already spoken.

The other argument drawn from a mistaken experience, is but the more particular probation of this generall, because it is alleaged to be found true by prooffe, that by the taking of *Tobacco* diuers and very many doe finde themselues cured of diuers diseases as on the other part, no man euer receiued harme thereby. In this argument there is first a great mistaking and next a monstrous absurditie. For is it not a very great mistaking, to take *Non causam pro causa*,

as they say in the Logicks? because peradventure when a sicke man hath had his disease at the height, hee hath at that instant taken *Tobacco*, and afterward his disease taking the naturall course of declining, and consequently the patient of recouering his health, O then the *Tobacco* forsooth, was the worker of that miracle. Beside that, it is a thing well knowen to all Phisicians, that the apprehension and conceit of the patient hath by wakening and vniting the vitall spirits, and so strengthening nature, a great power and vertue, to cure diuers diseases. For an euident prooue of mistaking in the like case, I pray you what foolish boy, what sillie wench, what olde doting wife, or ignorant countrey clowne, is not a Phisician for the toothach, for the cholicke, and diuers such common diseases? Yea, will not euery man you meete withal, teach you a fundry cure for the same, and sweare by that meane either himselfe, or some of his neereft kinsmen and friends was cured? And yet I hope no man is so foolish as to beleue them. And all these toyes do only proceed from the mistaking *Non causam pro causa*, as I haue already sayd, and so if a man chance to recouer one of any disease, after he hath taken *Tobacco*, that must haue the thankes of all. But by the contrary, if a man smoke himselfe to death with it (and many haue done) O then some other disease must beare the blame for that fault. So doe olde harlots thanke their harlotrie for their many yeeres, that custome being healthfull (say they) *ad purgandos Renes*, but neuer haue minde how many die of the Pockes in the flower of their youth. And so doe olde drunkards thinke they prolong their dayes, by their swinelike diet, but neuer remember howe many die drowned in drinke before they be halfe olde.

And what greater absurditie can there bee, then to say that one cure shall serue for diuers, nay, contrarious sortes of diseases? It is an vndoubted ground among all Phisicians, that there is almost no sort either of nourishment or medicine, that hath not some thing in it disagreeable to some part of mans bodie, be-

caufe, as I haue already fayd, the nature of the temperature of euery part, is fo different from another, that according to the olde prouerbe, That which is good for the head, is euill for the necke and the shoulders. For euen as a strong enimie, that inuades a towne or fortresse, although in his siege thereof, he do belaiue and compasse it round about, yet he makes his breach and entrie, at some one or few special parts thereof, which hee hath tried and found to bee weakest and least able to resist; so sickenesse doth make her particular assault, vpon such part or parts of our bodie, as are weakest and easiest to be ouercome by that sort of disease, which then doth assaile vs, although all the rest of the body by Sympathie feele it selfe, to be as it were belaiued, and besieged by the affliction of that special part, the grieue and smart thereof being by the sence of feeling disperfed through all the rest of our members. And therefore the skilfull Phisician presses by such cures, to purge and strengthen that part which is afflicted, as are only fit for that sort of disease, and doe best agree with the nature of that infirme part; which being abused to a disease of another nature, would prooue as hurtfull for the one, as helpfull for the other. Yea, not only will a skilfull and warie Phisician bee carefull to vse no cure but that which is fit for that sort of disease, but he wil also consider all other circumstances, and make the remedies futable thereunto: as the temperature of the clime where the Patient is, the constitution of the Planets, the time of the Moone, the season of the yere, the age and complexion of the Patient, and the present state of his body, in strength or weakenesse. For one cure must not euer be vsed for the self-same disease, but according to the varying of any of the foresaid circumstances, that sort of remedie must be vsed which is fittest for the same. Wher by the contrarie in th is case, such is the miraculous omnipotencie of our strong tasted *Tobacco*, as it cures all sorts of diseases (which neuer any drugge could do before) in all persons, and at all times. It

cures all maner of distillations, either in the head or stomacke (if you beleeeue their Axiomes) although in very deede it doe both corrupt the braine, and by causing ouer quicke digestion, fill the stomacke full of crudities. It cures the Gowt in the feet, and (which is miraculous) in that very instant when the smoke thereof, as light, flies vp into the head, the vertue thereof, as heauie, runs downe to the little toe. It helps all forts of Agues. It makes a man sober that was drunke. It refreshes a weary man, and yet makes a man hungry. Being taken when they goe to bed, it makes one sleepe soundly, and yet being taken when a man is sleepe and drowfie, it will, as they say, awake his braine, and quicken his vnderstanding. As for curing of the Pockes, it serues for that vse but among the pockie Indian slaues. Here in *England* it is refined, and will not deigne to cure heere any other then cleanly and gentlemanly diseases. O omnipotent power of *Tobacco*! And if it could by the smoke thereof chace out deuils, as the smoke of *Tobias* fish did (which I am sure could smel no stronglier) it would serue for a precious Relicke, both for the superstitious Priests, and the insolent Puritanes, to cast out deuils withall.

Admitting then, and not confessing that the vse thereof were healthfull for some sortes of diseases; should it be vsed for all sicknesses? should it be vsed by all men? should it be vsed at al times? yea should it be vsed by able, yong, strong, healthful men? Medicine hath that vertue, that it neuer leaueth a man in that state wherin it findeth him: it makes a sicke man whole, but a whole man sicke. And as Medicine helps nature being taken at times of necessitie, so being euer and continually vsed, it doth but weaken, wearie, and weare nature. What speake I of Medicine? Nay let a man euery houre of the day, or as oft as many in this countrey vse to take *Tobacco*, let a man I say, but take as oft the best forts of nourishments in meate and drinke that can bee deuifed, hee shall with the continuall vse thereof weaken both his head and his

stomacke: all his members shall become feeble, his spirits dull, and in the end, as a drowfie lazie belly-god, he shall euanish in a Lethargie.

And from this weaknesse it proceeds, that many in this kingdome haue had such a continuall vse of taking this vnfaurie smoke, as now they are not able to forbear the same, no more then an olde drunkard can abide to be long sober, without falling into an vncurable weaknesse and euill constitution: for their continuall custome hath made to them, *habitus, alteram naturam*: so to those that from their birth haue bene continually nourished vpon poison and things venemous, wholesome meates are onely poisonable.

Thus hauing, as I truste, sufficiently answered the most principall arguments that are vsed in defence of this vile custome, it rests onely to informe you what finnes and vanities you commit in the filthie abuse thereof. First, are you not guiltie of sinnefull and shamefull lust? (for lust may bee as well in any of the senses as in feeling) that although you bee troubled with no disease, but in perfect health, yet can you neither be merry at an Ordinarie, nor lasciuious in the Stewes, if you lacke *Tobacco* to prouoke your appetite to any of those forts of recreation, lusting after it as the children of Israel did in the wildernesse after Quailes? Secondly it is, as you vse or rather abuse it, a branche of the sinne of drunkennesse, which is the roote of all finnes: for as the onely delight that drunkards take in Wine is in the strength of the taste, and the force of the fume thereof that mounts vp to the braine: for no drunkards loue any weake, or sweete drinke: so are not those (I meane the strong heate and the fume) the onely qualities that make *Tobacco* so delectable to all the louers of it? And as no man likes strong headie drinke the first day (because *nemo repente fit turpissimus*) but by custome is piece and piece allured, while in the ende, a drunkard will haue as great a thirst to bee drunke, as a sober man to quench his thirst with a draught when hee hath need of it: So is not this the very case of all the great takers of *Tobacco*? which

therefore they themfelues do attribute to a bewitching qualitie in it. Thirdly, is it not the greateft finne of all, that you the people of all fortes of this Kingdome, who are created and ordeined by God to bestowe both your perfons and goods for the maintenance both of the honour and safetie of your King and Commonwealth, should disable your felues in both? In your perfons hauing by this continuall vile custome brought your felues to this shameful imbecilitie, that you are not able to ride or walke the iourney of a Iewes Sabbath, but you must haue a reekie cole brought you from the next poore house to kindle your *Tobacco* with? whereas he cannot be thought able for any seruice in the warres, that cannot endure oftentimes the want of meate, drinke and sleepe, much more then must hee endure the want of *Tobacco*. In the times of the many glorious and victorious battailes fought by this Nation, there was no word of *Tobacco*. But now if it were time of warres, and that you were to make some sudden *Caualcado* vpon your enemies, if any of you should seeke leifure to stay behinde his fellowe for taking of *Tobacco*, for my part I should neuer bee sorie for any euill chance that might befall him. To take a custome in any thing that cannot bee left againe, is most harmefull to the people of any land. *Mollicies* and delicacie were the wracke and ouerthrow, first of the Persian, and next of the Romane Empire. And this very custome of taking *Tobacco* (whereof our present purpose is) is euen at this day accounted so effeminate among the Indians themfelues, as in the market they will offer no price for a slaue to be sold, whome they finde to be a great *Tobacco* taker.

Now how you are by this custome disabled in your goods, let the Gentry of this land beare witnesse, some of them bestowing three, some foure hundred pounds a yeere vpon this precious stinke, which I am sure might be bestowed vpon many farre better vses. I read indeede of a knauish Courtier, who for abusing the fauour of the Emperour *Alexander Seuerus* his Master by taking bribes to intercede, for fundry per-

sons in his Masters eare, (for whom he neuer once opened his mouth) was iustly choked with smoke, with this doome, *Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit*: but of so many smoke-buyers, as are at this present in this kingdome, I neuer read nor heard.

And for the vanities committed in this filthie custome, is it not both great vanitie and vncleanenesse, that at the table, a place of respect, of cleanlinesse, of modestie, men should not be ashamed, to sit tossing of *Tobacco pipes*, and puffing of the smoke of *Tobacco* one to another, making the filthy smoke and stinke thereof, to exhale athwart the dishes, and infect the aire, when very often, men that abhorre it are at their repast? Surely Smoke becomes a kitchin far better then a Dining chamber, and yet it makes a kitchin also oftentimes in the inward parts of men, soiling and infecting them, with an vnctuous and oily kinde of Soote, as hath bene found in some great *Tobacco* takers, that after their death were opened. And not onely meate time, but no other time nor action is exempted from the publike vse of this vnciuill tricke: so as if the wiues of *Diepe* list to contest with this Nation for good maners their worst maners would in all reason be found at least not so dishonest (as ours are) in this point. The publike vse whereof, at all times, and in all places, hath now so farre preuailed, as diuers men very found both in iudgement, and complexion, haue bene at last forced to take it also without desire, partly because they were ashamed to seeme singular, (like the two Philosphers that were forced to duck themselues in that raine water, and so become fooles aswell as the rest of the people) and partly, to be as one that was content to eate Garlicke (which hee did not loue) that he might not be troubled with the smell of it, in the breath of his fellowes. And is it not a great vanitie, that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but straight they must bee in hand with *Tobacco*? No it is become in place of a cure, a point of good fellowship, and he that will refuse to take a pipe of *Tobacco* among his fellowes, (though by his own election he would

rather feele the fauour of a Sinke) is accounted peeuish and no good company, euen as they doe with tippeling in the cold Easterne Countries. Yea the Mistresse cannot in a more manerly kinde, entertaine her seruant, then by giuing him out of her faire hand a pipe of *Tobacco*. But herein is not onely a great vanitie, but a great contempt of Gods good giftes, that the sweetenesse of mans breath, being a good gift of God, should be willfully corrupted by this stinking smoke, wherein I must confesse, it hath too strong a vertue: and so that which is an ornament of nature, and can neither by any artifice be at the first acquired, nor once lost, be recouered againe, shall be filthily corrupted with an incurable stinke, which vile qualitie is as directly contrary to that wrong opinion which is holden of the wholesomnesse thereof, as the venime of putrifaction is contrary to the vertue Preseruatue.

Moreouer, which is a great iniquitie, and against all humanitie, the husband shall not bee ashamed, to reduce thereby his delicate, wholesome, and cleane complexioned wife, to that extremitie, that either shee must also corrupt her sweete breath therewith, or else resolute to liue in a perpetuall stinking torment.

Haue you not reason then to bee ashamed, and to forbear this filthie noueltie, so basely grounded, so foolishly receiued and so grossely mistaken in the right vse thereof? In your abuse thereof sinning against God, harming your selues both in persons and goods, and raking also thereby the markes and notes of vanitie vpon you: by the custome thereof making your selues to be wondered at by all forraine ciuil Nations, and by all strangers that come among you, to be scorned and contemned. A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the Lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, neereft resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is
 bottomelesse.

The foregoing Invective was written by the King of Great Britain. How early its royal authorship was avowed, I know not: but it was generally known long before its insertion in the collected edition of the King's *Workes*, published in 1616.

But King James stopped not, in his Crusade against Tobacco, at words. In the following *Commissio pro Tabacco* he added Fines and Blows.

JAMES, by the grace of God &c. to our right Trustie and right Welbeloued Cousen and Counsellor, *Thomas Earle of Dorset* our High Treasurer of Englande, Greetinge.

Whereas *Tabacco*, being a Drugge of late Yeres found out, and by Merchants, as well Denizens as Strangers, brought from forreign Partes in small quantitie into this Realm of England and other our Dominions, was used and taken by the better sort both then and nowe onelye as Phisicke to preserve Healthe, and is now at this Day, through evell Custome and the Toleration thereof, excessivelie taken by a number of ryotous and disordered Persons of meane and base Condition, whoe, contrarie to the use which Persons of good Callinge and Qualitee make thereof, doe spend most of there tyme in that idle Vanitie, to the evill example and corrupting of others, and also do consume that Wages whiche manye of them gett by there Labour, and wherewith there Families should be relieved, not caring at what Price they buye that Drugge, but rather devisinge how to add to it other Mixture, thereby to make it the more delightfull to their Taste, though so much the more costly to there Purse; by which great and imoderate takinge of *Tabacco* the Health of a great number of our People is impayred, and there Bodies weakened and made unfit for Labor, the Estates of many mean Persons soe decayed and consumed as they are thereby dryven to unthriftie Shifts onelie to maynteyne their gluttonous exercise thereof, besides that also a great part of the Treasure of our Lande is spent and exhausted by this onely Drugge so licentiously abused by the meaner sorte, all which enormous Inconveniencies ensuinge thereupon We doe well perceave to proceed principally from the great quantitie of *Tabacco* daily brought into this our Realm of England and Dominions of Wales from the Partes beyond the Seas by Merchauntes and others, which Excesse We conceive might in great part be restrayned by some good Imposition to be laid upon it, whereby it is likelie that a lesse Quantitie of *Tabacco* will hereafter be broughte into this our Realm of England, Dominion of Wales and Town of Barwick then in former tymes, and yet sufficient store to serve for their necessarie use who are of the better sort, and have and will use the same with Moderation to preserve their Healthe;

We do therefore will and command you our Treasurer of Englande, and hereby also warrant and authorise you to geve order to all Customers Comptrollers Searchers Surveyors, and other Officers of our Portes, that, from and after the sixe and twentieth Day of October next comynge, they shall demaunde and take to our use of all Merchauntes, as well Englishe as Strangers, and of all others whoe shall bringe in anye *Tabacco* into this Realme, within any Porte Haven or Creek belonging to any there severall Charges, the Somme of *Six Shillings and eighte Pence* upon everye Pound Waight thereof, over and above the Custome of *Two Pence* upon the Pounce Waight usuallye paide heretofore;

And for the better execution hereof, bothe in the Reformation of the saide Abuses, and for the avoydinge of all Fraude and Decepte concerninge the Paymente of the saide Imposition and Custome, Our Will and Pleasure is that you shall in our Name straightlye charge and commaunde all Collectors Customers Comptrollers Surveyors, and other Officers whatsoever to whome the same maye belonge, that they suffer noe Entries to be made of anye *Tabacco* at anye tyme hereafter to be broughte into anye Porte Haven or Creeke within this our Realme of Englande, and Dominion of Wales, and

Towne of Barwicke, or anye parte of the same, by anye Englishe or Stranger, or anye other Person whatsoever, before the saide Custome and Imposition before specified be firste satisfied and paide, or Composition made for the same with our saide Customers, Collectors, or other Officers to whome the enme apperteyneth, uppon Payne that if anye Merchaunte Englishe or Straunger, or other whatsoever, shall presume to bringe in anye of the saide *Tabacco*, before suche Payement and Satisfactione firste made, That then he shall not onelie forfeite the saide *Tabacco*, but alsoe shall undergoe suche further Penalties and corporall Punishmente as the Qualitie of suche soe highe a Contempe against our Royall and expresse Commaundement in this manere published shall deserve.

Wytnes our self at *Westminster* the seaventeenth Day of October. [1604].

Per ipsum Regem.

Rymer *Fœdera*, xvi. 601. Ed. 1715.

Sir ROBERT AYTON [b. 1570—d. an unmarried man in 1638] left among his MSS. the following Sonnet, first printed among his *Poems*, Edinburgh, 1844. Ed. by C. Roger.

ON TOBACCO.

Forsaken of all comforts but these two,
My faggot and my pipe, I sit and muse
On all my crosses, and almost accuse
The Heav'ns for dealing with me as they do.
Then Hope steps in, and with a smiling brow
Such cheerful expectations doth infuse
As makes me think ere long I cannot choose
But be some grandee, whatsoe'er I'm now.
But having spent my pipe, I then perceive
That hopes and dreams are cousins—both deceive.
Then mark I this conclusion in my mind,
It's all one thing—both tend into one scope—
To live upon Tobacco and on Hope,
The one's but smoke, the other is but wind. p. 53.

1606. "The copy of a Letter written by E. D. Doctour of Physicke to a Gentleman. by whom it was published. The former part containeth *Rules for the preservation of health, and preventing of all diseases until extreme olde age.* Herein is inserted the *Authours opinion of Tabacco.*" . . .

E. D. argues that Tobacco is (1) not safe for youth: (2) it shorteneth life: (3) it breedeth many diseases: (4) it breedeth melancholy: (5) it hurteth the minde: (6) it is ill for the Smokers' issue: (7) it shorteneth life: and

"To conclude, sith it is so hurtfull and dangerous to youth. I wish (in compassion of them) that it might haue the pernicious nature expressed in the name, and that it were as well known by the name of Youths-bane, as by the name of Tabacco." pp. 3-5.

1607. *A sixe-folde Politician*, by I[OHAN] M[ELTON], has the following allusion to Tobacco Smoking:—

And as the enterludes may be tearmed, the Schoole-houses of vanitie, and wantonnes; so these [vaine poets and plaiers] are the schoolemaisters thereof: and methinks they who haue tasted of the sweete fountaine water, running from their Academick mothers breasts, by this, if nothing else shold be deterred from their scribbling profession, that they see their writings and conceits sold at a common doore to euery base companion for a penny. But most of their conceits are too deere at that rate, and therefore may well bee had in the same request that Tobacco is now, which was wont to be taken of

great gentlemen, and gallants, now made a frequent and familiar Companion of euery Tapster and Horse-keeper. And their conceits are likest Tobacco of any thing: for as that is quickly kindled, makes a stinking smoake, and quickly goes out, but leaues and inhering stinke in the nostrils and stomackes of the takers, not to be drawne out, but by putting in a worse saouour, as of Onions and Garlick, (according to the prouerbe: the smel of Garlicke takes away the stink of dunghils,) so the writing of ordinarye Play-bookes, Pamphlets, and such like, may be tearmed the mushrum conceptions of idle braines, moste of them are begotte ouer night in Tobacco smoake and muld-sacke, and vttered and deliuered to the worlds presse by the helpe and midwifery of a caudle the next morning. *pp.* 34-36.

Conceits sauoring of no iudgement or studdie like Tobacco smoke.

1610. (1.) 'E[DMUND] G[ARDINER]. Gent. and Practitioner in Physicke,' wrote a medical defence, under the title of *The Triall of Tabacco. Wherein, his worth is most worthily expressed, as, in the name, nature, and qualitie of the sayd hearb, his speciall vse in all Physicke, with the true and right vse of taking it, &c.* . . .

(2.) Under this year may also be put—GEORGE SANDYS. *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. Foure Bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote parts of Italy, and Islands adioyning.* London. 1615.

The *Turkes* are also incredible takers of *Opium*, whereof the lesser *Asia* affordeth them plenty: carrying it about them both in peace and in warre; which they say expelleth all feare, and makes them couragious: but I rather thinke giddy headed, and turbulent dreamers; by them, as should seeme by what hath bene said, religiously affected. And perhaps for the selfe same cause they also delight in Tobacco; they take it through reeds that haue ioyned vnto them great heads of wood to containe it; I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the English; and were it not sometimes lookt into (for *Morat Bassa* not long since commanded a pipe to be thrust through the nose of a *Turke*, and so to be led in derision through the Citie,) no question but it would proue a principall commodity. Neuerthelessse they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein, that that which in England is not saleable, doth passe here amongst them for most excellent. Bk. I. *p.* 66.

So England took Tobacco first to Turkey.

1611. *Perfuming of Tobacco, and the great Abuse committed in it.* See Lowndes.

1614. (1.) WILLIAM BARCLAY, M.A., M.D., published at Edinburgh,—what was perhaps the first flat contradiction to the *Counterblaste*—viz.: *Nepenthes, or the Vertues of Tabacco.* This tract—which I should, had space permitted, have been glad to haue entirely reprinted here—was published by the Spalding Club in their *Miscellany*, i. *pp.* 257-274. It begins thus—

HERCVLES to obey the commandement and will of IVNO, busied himselfe to ouerthrow the most famous monsters of his time, his Armes were a bagge and a club. A most worthie Ladie, and, if I durst say so, the very IVNO of our Ile hath commanded me to destroy some monstrous Diseases so that to imitate the most chiualous Chufan of the worlde, I haue armed my selfe with a boxe for his bagge, and a pipe for his club: a boxe to conserue my *Tabacco*, and a pipe to vse it, by those two Godwilling, to ouercome many maladies. If the hostes of such Diseases do not betray my endeouours to their hating and hated guests by not vsing or abusing my weapons. But before I enter in the list, I must whet as it were my wits with these two points, First why doe I treat of a matter so often handled by so many, so odious to Princes, so pernicious to sundrie, and so costly to all?

Secondly why doe I as another *CLODIVS* reueale *mysteria bonæ Deæ*, and prophane the secrets of Physicke? I answere that a good matter is not the worse to be maintained by many; and *Plus vident oculi quam oculus*. As concerning the hatred of Princes, one mans meate is another mans poison. The wine prince of liquors hateth vehemently colworts, and yet beere, aile, sider water, oyle, honey, and all other liquors doe well agree with colworts. The king of *France* drinketh neuer *Orleans* wine notwithstanding his subjects doe loue it well.

I know sundrie men that haue such Antipathie with butter that they dare not sniell it. It hath bene pernicious to sundrie I grant it, so hath wine, so hath bread, so hath gold, so hath land, and what so wholesome thing is that cannot be turned to abuse? If it be costly vse the lesse of it. What? is not *Rheubarbe* coastly? is not *Muske* coastly? is not *Ambergreese* coastly? As touching the second point of my reuealing this secret of Physicke, I answere, I mean but to reforme the harme which proceedeth of the abuse, and to shew to my country men that I am more willing to pleasure them then to profite my selfe, neither did I sweare to conceale that point when in a robe of purple I wedded the metamorphosed *DAPHNE*. It resteth now to vnfold what moued me to entitule this treatise *Nepenthes*, because it hath certaine mellifluous delicacie, which deliteth the senses, and spirits of man with a mindful obliuion, insomuch that it maketh and induceth *κακῶν ἐπιζηθὼν ἅ πάντων* the forgetting of all sorrowes and miseries. And there is such hostilitie betwene it and melancholie, that it is the only medicament in the world ordained by nature to entertaine good companie: insomuch that it worketh neuer so well, as when it is giuen from man to man, as a pledge of friendship and amitie.

[The country which God hath honoured and blessed with this happie and holy herbe, doth call it in the natiue language *Petum*, the Spaniards, who haue giuen it the right of naturalitie in their soyle, terme it *Tabacco*, the Frenchmen which haue receiued it in their country as in a colonie call it *Nicotian*, in this our Ile of *Brittaine*, as in all other maritime parts, we vse the Spanish name of *Tabacco*. But esteeming it worthie of a more loftie name, I haue chosen for gossip the faire and famous *Helena*, and giuen her the honour to name this most profitable plant, *Nepenthes*.

Albeit this herbe disdaines not to be nourished in many gardens in *Spaine*, in *Italie*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Germanie* and *Brittaine*, yet neuertheless only that which is fostered in *India* and brought home by Mariners and Traffiquers is to be vsed, as after you shall heare the reason is.

Non omnis fert omnia tellus.

But auarice and greedines of gaine haue moued the Marchants to apparell some *European* plants with *Indian* coats, and to enstall them in shops as righteous and legitime *Tabacco* So that the most fine, best, and purest is that which is brought to *Europe* in leaues, and not rolled in puddings, as the English Navigators first brought home.

In *Tabacco* there is nothing which is not medecin, the root, the stalke, the leaues, the seeds, the smoke, the ashes, and to be more particular, *Tabacco* may serue for the vse of man either greene or dry.

To the cure and peregrination of an armie of malades, *Tabacco* must be used after this maner. Take of leafe *Tabacco* as much as being folded together, may make a round ball of such bignesse that it may fill the patient's mouth, and inclyne his face downward towards the ground, keeping the mouth open, not mouing a whit with his tongue, except now and then to waken the medicament, there shall flow such a flood of water from his brain and his stomacke, and from all parts of his body that it shall be a wonder. This he must do fasting in the morning, and if it be for preservation, and the body very cacochyme, or full of euil humours, he must take it once a weeke, otherwise once a month: But if it bee to cure the Epilepsie or Hydropsie once every day. Thus haue I vsed *Tabacco* my self, and thus vsed *Tabacco*, *Jean Greis* a venerable old man at *Nantes* in the French Britain, who liued whill he was six score yeares of age, and who was known for the only refuge of the poore afflicted souldiers of *Venus* when they were wounded with the French Pickes, I should haue said Pockes. Thus much for the vse

of *Tabacco* in substance. As concerning the smoke, it may be taken more frequently, and for the said effects, but always fasting, and with an emptie stomack, not as the English abuses do, which make a smoke-boxe of their skull, more fit to be caried vnder his arme that selleth at Paris, *dunoir a noircir* to blacke men's shoes, then to carie the braine of him that can not walke, can not ryde except the *Tabacco* Pype be in his mouth. I chanced in company on a tyme with an English merchant in *Normandie* betweene *Rowen* and *New-hauen*. This fellow was a merrie man, but at euery house he must haue a *Cole* to kindle his *Tabacco*: the Frenchmen wondered, and I laughed at his intemperance. But there is one *William Alsop* an honest man dwelling in Bishops-gate street, hard within the gate that selleth the best *Tabacco* in *England*, and vseth it most discreetly. . . .

(2.) "*The Honestie of this Age.* Proouing by good circumstance that the world was neuer honest till now. By BARNABEE RYCH Gentleman, Seruant to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie." has the following.

But he that some fortie or fifty yeares sithens, should haue asked after a *Pickadilly*, I wonder who could haue vnderstood him, or could haue told what a *Pickadilly* had beene, either fish or flesh.

But amongst the trades that are newly taken vp, this trade of *Tobacco* doth exceede: and the money that is spent in smoake is vnknowne, and (I thinke) vnthought on, and of such a smoake as is more vaine, then the smoake of fayre words, for that (they say) will serue to feede *Fooles*, but this smoake maketh *Fooles* of *Wisemen*: mee thinks experience were enough to teach the most simple witted, that before *Tobacco* was euer knowne in *England*, that we liued in as perfect health, and as free from sicknesse, as we haue done sithens, and looke vpon those (whereof there are a number at this present houre) that did neuer take *Tobacco* in their liues, and if they doe not liue as healthsome in bodie, and as free from all manner of diseases, as those that doe take it fastest: they say it is good for a *Cold*, for a *Pose*, for *Rewms*, for *Aches*, for *Dropsies*, and for all manner of diseases proceeding of moyst humours: but I cannot see but that those that doe take it fastest, are asmuch (or more) subiect to all these infirmities, (yea and to the poxe it selfe) as those that haue nothing at all to doe with it: then what a wonderful expence might very well bee spared, that is spent and consumed in this needlesse vanitie.

There is not so base a groome, that commes into an *Alehouse* to call for his pot, but he must haue his *pipe* of *Tobacco*, for it is a commoditie that is nowe as vendible in euery *Tauerne*, *Inne*, and *Ale house*, as eyther *Wine*, *Ale*, or *Beare*, and for *Apothecaries Shops*, *Grosers Shops*, *Chaundlers Shops*, they are (almost) neuer without company, that from morning till night are still taking of *Tobacco*, what a number are there besides, that doe keepe houses, set open shoppes, that haue no other trade to liue by, but by the selling of *Tobacco*.

I haue heard it tolde that now very lately, there hath bin a *Catalogue* taken of all those new erected houses that haue set vppe that Trade of selling *Tobacco*, in *London* and neare about *London*, and if a man may beleeué what is confidently reported, there are found to be vpward of 7000. houses, that doth liue by that trade.

I cannot say whether they number *Apothecaries shoppes*, *Grosers shops*, and *Chaundlers shops* in this computation, but let it be that these were thrust in to make vppe the number: let vs now looke a little into the *Vidimus* of the matter, and let vs cast vppe but a sleight account, what the expence might be that is consumed in this smoakie vapoure.

If it be true that there be 7000. shops, in and about *London*, that doth vent *Tobacco*, as it is credibly reported that there be ouer and aboue that number: it may well bee supposed, to be but an ill customed shoppe, that taketh not fise shillings a day, one day with another, throughout the whole yeare, or if one doth take lesse, two other may take more: but let vs make our account, but after 2 shillings sixe pence a day, for he that taketh lesse than that, would be ill able to pay his rent, or to keepe open his *Shop Windowes*, neither

would *Tobacco* houses make such a muster as they doe, and that almost in euery Lane, and in euery by-corner round about *London*.

Let vs then reckon thus. 7000. halfe Crowns a day amounteth just to 31,9375 poundes a yeare. *Summa totalis*, All spent in *smoake*.

I doe not reckon now what is spent in *Tauernes*, in *Innes*, in *Alehouses*, nor what gentlemen doe spend in their owne houses and chambers, it would amount to a great reckoning, but if I cou'de deliuer truly what is spent throughout the whole Realme of England, in that idle vanitie, I thinke it woulde make a number of good people (that haue anie feare of God in them) to lament, that such a masse of Treasure, should be so basely consumed, that might be employed to many better purposes.—pp. 25-27.

(3.) JOSHUA SYLVESTER, the translator of *Du Bartas*, wrote a poem, under the title of *Tobacco buttered; and the Pipes shattered (About their Eares that idly Idolize so base and barbarous a Weed; or at least-wise ouer-lone so loathsome Vanitie:) by A Felley of holy Shot thundered from Mount Helicon*. The calibre of this Invec-tive may be measured by its concluding lines—

How iuster will the Heau'nly God,
Th' *Eternal*, punish with infernal Rod,
In Hell's darke (Fornace, with black *Fumes*, to choak)
Those, that on Earth will still offend in *Smoak*!
Offend their Friends, with a Most *vn-Respect*:
Offend their Wiues and Children, with Neglect:
Offend the Eyes, with foule and loathsom Spawlings:
Offend the Nose, with filthy *Fumes* exhaling:
Offend the Eares, with lowd lewd *Execrations*:
Offend the Mouth, with ougly *Excreations*:
Offend the *Sense*, with stupefying *Sense*:
Offend the Weake, to follow their *Offense*:
Offend the Body, and offend the Minde:
Offend the *Conscience* in a fearefull kinde:
Offend their *Baptisme*, and their *Second Birth*:
Offend the *Maiestie* of Heau'n and Earth.

Woe to the World because of Such *Offenses*:
So volontaire, so voyd of all pretenses
Of all *Excuse* (saue *Fashion*, *Custome*, *Will*)
In so apparant, proued, granted, *Ill*.
Woe, woe to them by Whom *Offences* come,
So scandalous to All our *CHRISTENDOME*.

1615. *An Advice how to plant Tobacco in England: and how to bring it to colour and perfection, to whom it may be profitable, and to whom harmfull. The vertues of the Hearbe in generall, as well in the outward application as taken in FVME. With the danger of the Spanish Tobacco.* Written by C. T.

This work gives us a good idea of the rapid growth of Tobacco Smoking in England.

I haue heard it reported, by men of good iudgement, that there is paid out of England and Ireland, neere the value of two hundred thousand pounds euery yeare for Tobacco; and that the greatest part thereof is bought for ready money. Sure I am, that when our Englishmen for these seuen or eight yeares last past, traded for it at *Trinidado*, or in *Orenoque*, that great store of Gold, Siluer, Coine, and plate was carried hence, and giuen to the Spaniard there in exchange. For so greedy were our English of the Indian Tobacco, as where in the beginning of our traffique there, some yeares since, the Spaniards (as in all new plantations) were prest with all sorts of wants; and had neither cloathes to cover them, nor shooes to tread on, nor bread to eate, and did therefore exchange their Tobacco for Fish, Wine, Aqua-vitæ, all sorts of lasting food, for woollen stockings, hats, threed hatchets, and the like: they became in a short time so cloyd with all these commodities, as

nothing (some Silkes, and Cloath of Siluer and Gold excepted) but ready Money, and Siluer plate could content them.

This Trade therefore, where the Treasure of this land is vented for smoke, cannot but greatly preiudice the Common-weale: which although it were in some sort tollerable, by reason that many shippes and Mariners were employed, and that thereby wee kept our knowledge of the West Indies, and bred many sufficient Marriners: yet seeing the Spaniards haue now vtterly banished our Merchants, and put all to the sword, or to a more cruell death, which they can maister, or betray in those parts: I haue thought good, as well for the keeping within the Land of the Treasure before spoken of, then carried into the Indies, and now into Spaine, as for other respects hereafter remembred; to instruct those of our Nation how to sow, plant and perfect this drugge.

For besides the ill exchange made for this fantastick merchandize, and besides, the extreame rate, and price of the Indian Tobacco, of which the greatest part is sold for ten times the value of pepper, and the best of it, weight for weight, for the finest siluer; it is hard to find one pound weight in five hundred, that is not sophisticate.

The naturall colour of Tobacco is a deepe yellow, or a light tawnie: and when the Indians themselves sold it vs for Knives, Hatchets, Beads, Belles, and like merchandise, it had no other complexion, as all the Tobacco at this day hath, which is brought from the coast of Guiana, from Saint Vincents, from Saint Lucia, from *Dominica*, and other places, where we buy it but of the naturall people, and all these sorts are cleane, and so is that of St. *Domingo*, where the Spaniards haue not yet learned the Art of Sophistication.

There is also a sort of Caraccas Tobacco, which the Indians make vp, and sell to the Spaniards, which is wholesome enough; but there comes little of it into England.

Now besides these harmefull mixtures, if our English which delight in Indian Tobacco, had seene how the Spanish slaues make it vp, how they dresse their sores, and pockie vlcers, with the same vnwasht hands with which they slubber and annoynt the Tobacco, and call it sauce *Per los perros Luteranos*, for *Lutheran* dogges, they would not so often draw it into their heads and through their noses as they doe: yea many a filthy sauour should they find therein, did not the smell of the hunny maister it, which smell euery man may plainly perceiue that takes of the blacke roll Tabacco, brought from *Orenoque*, *Trinidado*, and else-where.

1616. JOHN DEACON—who appears to have been another Phillip Stubbes—dedicated *Tobacco tortured; or the filthie fume of Tobacco refined*: to James I.

This work is in the form of a dialogue between *Capnistus* and *Hydrophorus*. It is divided into two parts: (1.) The Fume of Tobacco taken inward, is very pernicious vnto the Body. (2.) The Fume of Tobacco taken inward, is too too profluous for many of our *Tobacconists* purfes, and most pernicious to the publike State.

The following extracts will show the nature of the work.

Capn. Alas poore Tobacco, my pretie Tobacco; thou that hast bene hitherto accompted the Ale-knights armes, the Beere-brewers badge, the Carousers crest, the Drunkards darling, the Draffe-sacks delight, the Easterlings ensigne, the Fantasticals foretresse, the Gormandizers glorie, the hungry Hostesses ale-pole, the Mad-braines merriment, the New-fangles noueltie, the Poope-noddies paramour, the Ruffians reflection, the Swil-boles swine-troffe, the Tinkers trull, the Tospots protection, the Vintners vintage, and the vnthrifts pasport: thou must now (I feare me) bee enforced forthwith to take thy farewell towards the vttermost parts of *India*, from whence thou were first transported to *England* by vicious and wild dispositions. . . . p. 57.

Hydr. First therefore for the exceeding high rate that this Tobacco hath euer bene at since the very first arriuall thereof into *England*, thou thy selfe, and all our *Tobacconists*, are able to say this of your owne proper knowledge:

namely, that the same hath vsually bene sold by the pound, for twentie nobles, fiue, foure, or three pounds: yea and when it came to the lowest price, it could not bee had vnder foure markes or fortie shillings, which amounteth to three shillings four pence an ounce at the least. Is not this (thinkest thou) an exceeding high rate for filthie *Tobacco*? . . . p. 61.

Hydr. Concerning therefore that former superfluous and riotous waste, which those *Tobacconists* do so wilfully make about their beastly *Tobacco fumes*, do tell me in good sadnesse, whether it be not a superfluous waste, for any man of great place, to paddle forth yearely one hundred pounds at the least, for an hundred gallons of filthy fumes? for a Gentleman of meaner condition, to be at fortie pound annuall expences, about hare fortie pottels of stinking flames, for a Yeoman, an Husbandman, an Artificer, a Trades-man, a Tinker, a Shoemaker, or a Cobbler, to bestow weekely some three shillings fourpence at the least, for but one onely ounce of fantastical fooleries? . . . p. 62.

Hydr. So as (by these meanes) they make great noble Persons, but single-soled Gentlemen; well bred Gentelmen, but bare thredded Yeomen; bountifull Yeomen, but beggerly Husbandmen, hospitious Husbandmen, but shifting Trades-men, artuficious Trades-men but conicatching companions, conicatching companions, but vagabond rogues. Thus thou mayest plainly perceiue how these their intoxicating *Tobacco fumes* are able in an vnperceivable and Circean manner to transforme nobilitie into gentrie, gentrie into yeomanrie, yeomanrie into husbandry, husbandrie into manuarie, manuarie into manubiarie, manubiarie into a vagrant and retchlesse roguerie, and what not besides? p. 65.

(2.) The *Counterblaste* was reprinted this year in Bishop Montagu's edition of James' *Workes*.

1616. Bishop Montagu published a Latin translation of the King's works: in which the *Counterblaste* appears as *Misocapnus, seu de Abusu Tabacci*. This provoked a Polish Jesuit to write *Antimisocapnus*, a tract which I have not met with.

We cannot better conclude these scattered notices, than with the following poem: sometimes called *Tobacco Spiritualized*: but which is evidently reprinted in *Two Broadfides*, &c. 1672: see No. 4, p. 6.

The *Indian Weed* withered quite,
Green at Noon, cut down at Night;
Shews thy decay, all Flesh is hay:
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

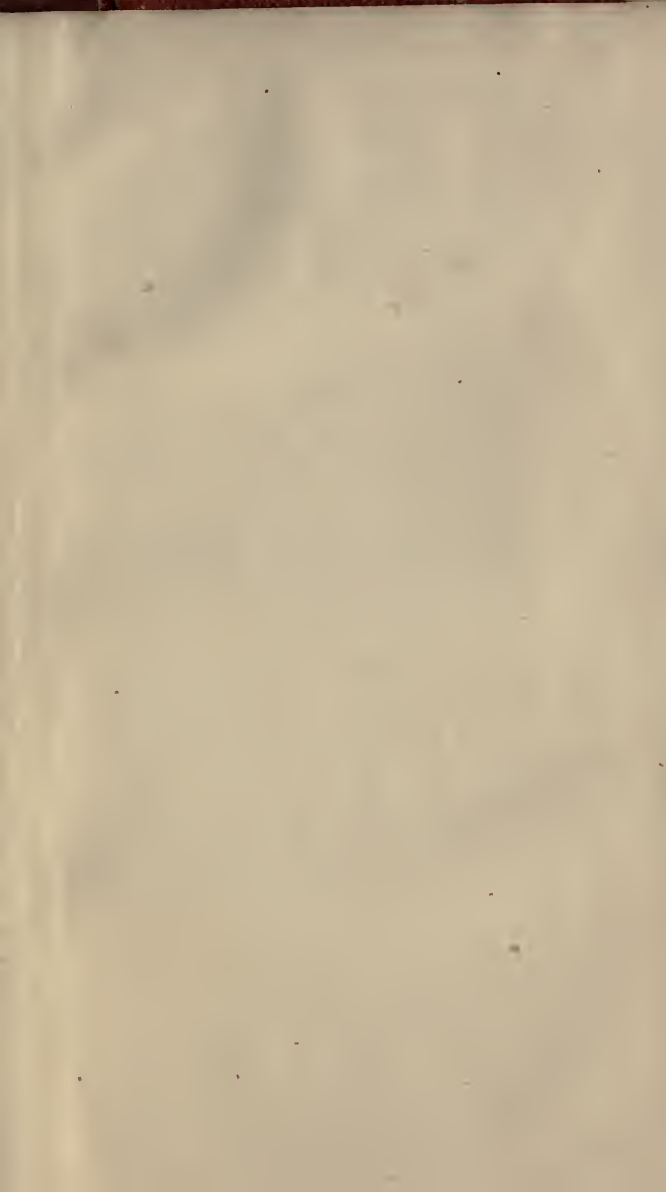
The Pipe that is so lilly-white,
Shews Thee to be a mortal Wight,
And euen such gone with a touch:
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

And when the Smoke ascends on high,
Think thou behold'st the Vanity
Of worldly stuff, gone with a puff:
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

And when the Pipe grows foul within,
Think on the Soul defil'd with Sin,
And then the Fire it doth require:
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

The Ashes that are left behind
May serve to put thee still in mind,
That unto Dust return thou must:
Thus think, then drink *Tobacco*.

Answered by *George Withers* thus,
Thus think, drink no *Tobacco*.



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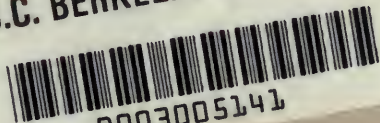
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